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ANCIENT HISTORY

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CONTENTS

xxv

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Relations with Larsa and Isin | 480 |
| Defeat of Larsa by Elam | 483 |
| Elamite kings | 484 |
| Rim-Sin's successes against Isin | 485 |
| Fight for Isin and Larsa | 486 |
| III. HAMMURABI | 487 |
| Conquest of Elam | 488 |
| Temple and other works | 489 |
| Campaigns in the north | 490 |
| His law-code | 492 |
| Extent of his empire | 493 |

CHAPTER XIV

THE GOLDEN AGE OF HAMMURABI

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

| | |
|--|-----|
| I. THE COUNTRY | 494 |
| Communications by water | 495 |
| Ships and houses | 497 |
| The date-palm | 499 |
| Animals and birds | 500 |
| The Tigris | 501 |
| II. BABYLON | 503 |
| Plan | 504 |
| Nebuchadrezzar's buildings | 505 |
| Tower of Babel | 508 |
| III. GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY | 508 |
| The patesis | 509 |
| Judicial procedure | 511 |
| The levy | 514 |
| Capital offences, penalties | 516 |
| Social castes | 518 |
| Slavery | 520 |
| IV. PRIVATE LIFE | 522 |
| Matrimony | 523 |
| Divorce and adultery | 524 |
| Children and inheritance | 526 |
| Loans | 528 |
| V. RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS | 529 |
| The gods | 529 |
| Religious beliefs | 531 |
| The temple and its staff | 532 |
| Priestesses and temple-women | 536 |
| VI. ORDINARY LIFE, DEATH, LITERATURE | 540 |
| The crops | 541 |
| Food | 543 |
| Coinage, metals and pottery | 545 |
| A love-letter | 547 |
| Burial | 548 |
| Myths and legends | 550 |

CHAPTER XIV

THE GOLDEN AGE OF HAMMURABI

I. THE COUNTRY

BETWEEN the Persian Gulf and Baghdad the two great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, water what once was ancient Babylonia. The physical characteristics have been described above (Chap. x, pp. 356 *seq.*). The general features of the country in the second millennium B.C. were the same as they are to-day: a few of the wild beasts have died out, and with British occupation came the railways and the aeroplane—but, after all, these last are but easy potentialities of the Jinn with their magic carpets, and are hardly worth an Arab's curiosity.

Four thousand years ago a traveller from the Persian Gulf working his way up the river valleys from the sea to Assyria trusted to the vaguest ideas of geography. His guide would have told him that the sea of which the Persian Gulf formed part was a broad circular canal of which the bed continued round behind the Persian mountains and the Caucasus, 'where the sun is not seen,' enclosing all Babylonia and Assyria. Such at any rate is the impression gained from the ancient clay map which some geographer has left us; it may be that hazy traditions of the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, and Red Sea had been woven together and are thus preserved in an ingenious theory that these were all connected with each other forming a belt of water about the land. Certainly two-thirds of this theory is correct; it is the explanation of that part of the country only, between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and thence southwards through Persia, which is at fault. His information of the lands which lie about Babylonia and Assyria would have been far more accurate, for merchants and soldiers had pushed far afield, and their knowledge could be supplemented locally. Distances would be reckoned in time by double hours and not by mileage, and in the settled districts travelling from town to town would be comparatively easy; among the unsettled tribes where control was uncertain, doubtless it would be necessary to attach a man from the clan not only as a guide but as a protection, the usual way of traversing such places.

A letter of Hammurabi to Sin-idinnam in Larsa, demanding a statement of accounts from the overseers of temple-cattle (especially the shepherd of the flocks of the great temple of Shamash), shows the rate of speed which was expected. 'Thou shalt despatch them unto Babylon that they may render their accounts. See that they travel by night and by day, and reach Babylon within two days.' The distance is more than a hundred miles as the crow flies; and it is considerably more by water, which is the way they would probably travel if they were to journey night and day: their boat would be towed, poled and probably helped by sails, but it would be good going to do even a hundred miles upstream in two days and a night, and they would probably have taken another night on the way in addition. That it was safe for a boy with valuables to travel in the neighbourhood of Kish to Dilbat in the period of Ammi-zaduga, is clear from a dated letter. There is, however, nothing unusual in this, as none would be likely to stop a boy of the people on the road unless war were raging. 'Either send a goat (?) for an offering, or the money. I did not see you in Kish. Do not send (back) the boy empty-handed. (Seal) Ibni-Marduk, the scribe, servant of Nabu. Month Elul, 9th day, the year when Ammi-zaduga the King, (built) Dur-Ammi-zaduga.'

The traveller, after his galley had reached the head of the Persian Gulf, would leave the salt sea and cross the enormous shallow *khors*, or swampy lakes, often of bitter water, and still subject far inland to the tides, where a man must dig a hole at the edge to find sweet water for drinking. If he were fortunate, his sea-going vessel would find a channel deep enough to carry her over these lagoons to the joint mouth of the Gharraf and Euphrates near where stands the modern Nasriyeh, doubtless the neighbour of the ancient Dur-Ammi-zaduga. Thence the usual mode of transport was by boat and barge on rivers or canals. Marduk-našir, the successor and probably the son of Sin-idinnam, an official of Sippar in the time of Abeshu', sent word to Nabi-Shamash to forward certain goods which had been left behind in Kar-Shamash, the city on the Tigris, girt with the high wall, founded by Hammurabi: 'put them in a boat and let them come to me in Sippar.' One Sani writes to his two friends Dan-ilu and Inbi-Sin: 'About the boat of which ye spake: a boat is going to my lord(s), I send you a letter; return me answer to my letter; let the boat return to its owner at your convenience.'

Barges were reckoned by their burthen or carrying capacity in *gur*-measures: the syllabaries show that the size ranged from five,

ten, fifteen or twenty *gur* up to sixty *gur*. According to a letter of Hammurabi, a ship of seventy-five *gur* burthen would carry ninety men ('from round about Ur'), who would amount to six tons dead weight, demanding seating space for at least ninety square yards or, say, a ship of 45 feet length with 18 feet beam, without reckoning space for crew, tackle and food. The present writer noticed a *būm*, or seagoing vessel at Basrah, with a length over all of 50 feet, and 18 feet beam, with a freeboard when unloaded of five feet, which must have been just such another, save that the ship of seventy-five *gur* was probably a *mahailah* for river work only, and would be shallower with less freeboard. It takes from three to six men looped to the towing rope, to drag a *mahailah* of this size upstream. To-day the water transport is curiously varied. Down the Euphrates from Birejik to Felujah they use a flat-bottomed boat called *shakhtur*, and below Felujah ply the rough boats made at Hit, while on the lowest reaches the sailing barge or wherry known as the *mahailah* is found. On the Tigris, from Diarbekr to Baghdad, the descent is made on skin rafts, which rarely go below the latter city; at Baghdad begins the 'kuffah' (*gufah*), or coracle, which will be found almost as low as Filaiilah; and below, between Filaiilah and Basrah, the people use the little skiff-like *bellum*.

The great southern lake, now known as the Khor Hammar between the sea and the river mouths, is girt with flat land fringed with high reed beds: little islands rise sporadically out of the water, barely lifting their heads above the high tide, and when they do, support the reed huts and families of a few marsh-dwellers of a low type, who, as jesting stories say, are almost web-footed. Perhaps even in these days the great city of Eridu lay on the fringe of this lake—'sea' the Babylonians always called it—and the mariner's galley might tie up near the Quay of the New Moon, like some more modern Adapa, the hero of Eridu of the Babylonian saga, who broke the wings of the south wind in revenge for the squall which upset his scow as he was fishing (p. 401). The shoreland is marked by low level banks of dull sepia, fringed always with reeds, withered to dull brown in the winter, save where some plantation of palm trees near a town along a canal marks civilization. Round about this lake lies the sea-land where in the next few hundred years a dynasty is to arise, replacing the less vigorous dregs of the first.

In prehistoric times there had been great settlements to south and west of these lakes by the same people who had occupied Elam after their migration thither from the east. Here on the

Euphrates flats they had made their dwelling, built the foundations of many cities—Ur, Eridu, the modern Tell el-Lahm and others—ploughed the fields with hoes of chipped stone, reaped their crops with sickles of baked clay, and rubbed the corn with stone mullers; shot birds with stone arrow-heads and clay sling-bolts, caught fish with nets, and even with reed traps where the tide helped them, and ate the freshwater mussels; learnt to rub down obsidian into delicate pins, burnt clay pots in the fire, painted them in a hundred ingenious designs, and built their houses of unburnt bricks and reeds. Then as the Sumerians invaded the land from the north, these settlers died out or were absorbed in the conquering race: Ur, Eridu and the rest had become Sumerian cities by the third millennium B.C., and at the time of which we speak, about 2100 B.C., the Semite in his turn was ousting the Sumerian.

The invention of burnt bricks had long made a difference in the appearance of the cities, and the Sumerians, with a reminiscence perhaps of their mountains in the east, had added lofty pyramid-like towers to the temples, which now stood up prominently as landmarks across the dead levels. Brick buildings were, however, only for the temples and palaces, the houses of the richer folk and officials; the poorer people used the reeds, as they still do, for houses and boats. In the earlier times about 3000 B.C., when red burnt bricks were coming into fashion, the Sumerians moulded them flat on one side and convex on the other, with a thumb impression lengthwise to grip the bitumen which they used for mortar (and even these may not be the earliest type); by the middle of the third millennium these had gone out of use, and flat bricks took their place. But as fuel was scarce these must have been expensive to bake, and it is for this reason probably that foundations and city walls were made of adobe. The reed huts and boats of the poor folk go back to the most distant period of all: to this day they are to be seen on the Tigris, as far up as the reed beds themselves extend, beyond Kut el-Amara, but not much farther. Such a hut did Uta-Napishtim, the Babylonian Noah, occupy, when his patron Enki, the god of wisdom, being privy to the intention of the gods to drown mankind in a flood, came to warn him. But as he drew nigh to the village the god felt qualms about divulging the secrets of heaven to a mortal, and so, not daring to tell his friend directly, came to the reed hut in which he knew Uta-Napishtim was dwelling, and revealed the project to the wall and not the man: 'Reed-hut, Reed-hut, Wall, Wall, O Reed-hut hear, O Wall understand,' and by such

casuistry was the Babylonian Noah saved. To-day these huts are built on a framework like a tunnel made of a succession of long arched bundles of reeds. The bundles of reeds are tightly bound into sheaves, as thick as a man's leg or thicker, prolonged to unlimited length by lapping the ends of one bundle firmly within the end of another. These great *fascies* are then set on one end in the earth, arched over, and the other end is then also buried; the walls are formed by similar bundles bound cross-wise horizontally to this framework, and over the upper part as a roof are spread mats of split reeds. Or the hut may be made more simply with upright reeds for the walls, and a screen of palm branches to mask the doorway.

Rafts are made of great thick cylinders of reed bundles in tiers, the whole float bearing at least three people; the present writer has seen one on the Tigris towed downstream carrying a man, two women, a child and a calf, and herein is to be sought the explanation of the directions to Uta-Napishtim, when the Flood is threatened, that he is to pull down his house and build a boat. There are few materials in a mud-brick hut wherefrom a boat may be built, but it is altogether another matter in the case of a good reed-hut, for the whole material can be turned into a raft, which thus must have been the original Noah's Ark. The marsh-Arab of to-day is quite accustomed to pull down his cabin and transfer it (by boat, be it said) to another place. Skiffs are made of three bundles lashed together, tapering towards the prow, and more than a man's height long, and even floats to sustain a man swimming are made of reed bundles, where in the more northern districts an inflated skin would be used. In the fields you may see little watchers' platforms made on four reed columns, as high as a man, raised far enough above the flat to see an hour or two's journey away. In the distance are visible moving objects like a T, the top cross-piece sloping backwards: these are the women bringing in sheaves of reeds or fuel.

Such were the boats our traveller would have met on his journey across the lakes. Here at Eridu or Ur he must leave his sea-going vessel and go up one of the ancient arms of the Euphrates (the modern Shatt el-Kar for choice), or the Tigris, perhaps by the present Gharrāf channel, in a shallower boat. If it was the same as a modern *mahailah*, the large sailing barge, a favouring wind would help him upstream, but more probably his men must tow him: thus did Hammurabi order the statues of the goddesses of Emutbal to be brought to Babylon, hauled upstream by 'men to pull the ropes' (*ṣabī shadid ašlim*). Other-

wise, if he travel by land it must be by ass, or more rarely, camel, for the horse did not come into use until the Kassites invaded the land. The traveller is now entering the populous districts of middle Sumer; Eridu and Ur are only the southern outliers, and the former of these, as the marshes dried and the canals failed, ceased to be a town of importance, receiving honour only, because of the antiquity of its shrine to Enki. Ur was different; the Euphrates washed its flanks, and it rose to such importance that there was no room on the mound itself for the traders and husbandmen who flocked to live in safety within its walls. Northwards for a mile beyond its two-mile perimeter they have left great traces of their dwellings, the bricks with which they built, the stones which they used to grind their corn. Its great ziggurat of burnt brick pierced the sky, frowning over the splendid temple to the moon-god for which the city was so famous: kings' daughters were priestesses here, even down to the time of the antiquary-king Nabonidus who loved to preserve old customs. Round about the city extended the green corn-fields, and near its canals were the groves of palm-trees. Dates, corn, flocks, herds and fish were the staple commodities and it may be that in the southern districts the fish and dates held highest place, just as is shown to-day when the Arab women embroider their little purses with palm-branches and fishes.

Amid the palm-trunks grew the fruit-trees as they do to-day. A Babylonian cylinder-seal of early workmanship shows the date-pickers plucking the dates from the lower kinds of palm trees, and represents two other kinds of trees growing in the plantation. Ammianus Marcellinus, in his account of the Roman legions under Julian in the fourth century A.D., tells the same story of palms interspersed with vines and a kind of apple. Nowadays you may find growing amid the palms, grapes and figs with their fruit forming or ripening in May and offered in the markets in June, the scarlet flower of the pomegranate in late April with the fruit ripe in July, and mulberries ripe in April. Of other fruits in southern Babylonia the melon stands easily first, and is in the markets in June and continues until the end of October. Apples are frequently to be found in the bazaar (both in January and June), walnuts and lemons in January. Oranges are poor at Basrah, but rival the melon at Baghdad in early summer, and orchards of apricots drop their yellow fruit in May to the north of Baghdad; vegetables are unlimited; the purple *bedinjan* or egg-plant, the most satisfactory substitute for the potato, is to be had for the greater part of the year.

A cuneiform list of more than sixty different kinds of vegetables grown in the royal Babylonian gardens of Merodach-Baladan has survived. The palace-gardener grew very much the same kind of plants as the modern inhabitants of Basrah: garlic, onions, mint, beans, cardamoms, leeks, pennyroyal, lettuce, dill, saffron, coriander, hyssop, thyme of two kinds, mangold, turnip, radish, lucerne, assafoetida, cucumber and colocynth, are among the plants which can be easily identified. Of cereals ancient Babylonia possessed the following: emmer spelt (*zizū*), which gave its name to the month Sebat; *kunashu* (the *κύλληστις* of Herodotus ii, 77; Egyptian, *k-l-sh-t*) and *buṭuttu*, a form of spelt in the Kassite period (Egyptian, *bdt*); corn, barley, wheat and sesame. Berosus speaks also of barley, ochrys, palms, and apples growing wild; and Pliny of wheat which, after being cut twice, still provided good fodder for sheep.

He who would travel by river had little need to fear wild beasts or robbers, save perhaps in rare cases when a *bakshish* might be taken by some upstart occupant of a river bank from boats going through his domain. But the wayfarer by the more desolate roads feared other terrors besides lack of food and water. Lions had abounded in the thickets in ancient times and the goddess Ishtar had reckoned one of them her lover; thus does Gilgamesh taunt her with her past amours when she proposed marriage to him:

Thou did'st love also a lion in all the full strength of (his) vigour,
Yet thou didst dig for him seven and seven pits.

Gilgamesh and Engidu together slew lions in the hey-day of their youth, but after Engidu died Gilgamesh set forth on his travels alone, and the dread of the lonely road presented itself vividly to the hero:

I will get hence on the road, to the presence of Uta-napishtim,
The wise, the son of Ubara-tutu, I'll speed my departure,
An't were in darkness that I should arrive at the gates of the mountains,
And meet with lions, and terror fall on me, I'll lift my face (skyward)
To offer my prayers to the Moon-god.

Panthers, jackals and foxes were common, yet the letters and contracts tell us so little of them, that we can see how well the shepherds knew how to look after their flocks. In the hills were the ibex, on the plains gazelles and wild asses, and in the thickets, wild boar; the wild ox is already rare.

Of domestic animals the ass was the chief beast of burden, probably a descendant of the wild ass, the same species which roamed the plains even in Xenophon's time. In the later Babylonian empire, after Assyria had fallen, it was still customary for

men to ride donkeys. 'Now,' says a writer of this date, 'since I am coming without an ass, give the ass to Samas-eṭir that it may carry him, and the deposits be brought.' The horse did not come into common use until it was introduced by the Kassites (see p. 311). Its Sumerian name, 'the ass from the east,' shows whence it came, and that the Sumerians knew of it; although actually the earliest reference to it is on a tablet of Hammurabi's period. The camel also was a beast which was introduced fairly late, as its name 'the ass from the sea-lands,' implies; and as the Babylonian-Semitic name for it is *gammalu*, it probably came in with the Suti-bedouins *via* Erech. It is not often mentioned in contracts or letters, and the probability is that the Arabs kept their own carrying-trade in the desert as a monopoly, rarely showing their beasts in the towns, and that camel-caravans (such as ply to-day between Baghdad and Mosul), either were not common, or were distinct from the ordinary methods of travel used by the Babylonians. That camels were not led into the cities is not unusual, as their drivers prefer to park them outside. The other domestic animals were the black buffalo, the ox, the black goat, and both brown and white sheep. The present writer also found the skeleton of *Bos celticus* (identified by Mr W. P. Pycraft, F.Z.S.) at the base of the ziggurat at Eridu, some fifteen to nineteen feet below the surface, where it had evidently been buried as a sacrifice about Bur-Sin's time (c. 2400 B.C.). Of smaller domestic animals the temples contained dogs which were specially fed, and there were, of course, the ordinary fowls of the farmyard. As for the larger kinds of birds, the shells of ostrich eggs have been found at Babylon and Bahrein; the bustard is still to be seen, and there are birds of prey, innumerable waterfowl and wading-birds, sandgrouse, partridges, bee-eaters and so on.

If our traveller had gone up the Gharraf there is little doubt that he would have seen exactly the same kind of country as lies about the present bed of the Tigris. He might, as to-day, meet with gulls in Baghdad, even in Mosul in the winter, and terns, as high up the Euphrates as Carchemish, in spring. As one ascends the Shatt el-Arab and the Tigris, the low river-banks become higher and steeper; the river itself, six hundred yards wide at Basrah, narrows sometimes to seventy, but is usually from one to two hundred yards. From Basrah up to Kurnah the bank is fringed with palm-groves, willows and reeds: sometimes an island, as at Gurmat Ali, offers good pasture, but behind the leafy barrier of the margin lies the flat desert, stretching as far as eye can see, desolate and flat. The fields sown with maize, which is

ten feet high in November, are sometimes marked with walls three feet high; green grass, visible in November, extends in a belt two hundred yards in depth along the banks, if cultivation has not destroyed it; beyond this is flat desert, relieved only by a rare and low mound, or reed village. On the mud selva are the reed fish traps, as far up as the tide affects the stream. Above Kurnah the palm-groves cease for a space, and nought is to be seen save level desert with grass now green, now brown.

The reed villages are built on the river-edge, and with them are occasional tents of black hair. On the mat roofs of the huts dry the cakes of cow-dung fuel; the cattle and sheep graze in the stubble fields, hens and dogs pick up what livelihood they can in the village itself. The Arab women wear bright colours, red or even green, often with rings in their right nostrils, more rarely in the left, and with silver bangles on their arms. Boys either wear their hair close-cropped (probably shaven), but sometimes they let it fall in two long plaits, or leave it until they are shock-headed, when the shaving process begins again. Sometimes one passes a mud fort built rectangular with towers fourteen feet high at the corners. Towards Amarah, the first large town above Basrah, the gardens are irrigated with the *chird* or waterwheel turned by a horse, and are girt about with mud walls, protected against thieves by a layer of camel-thorn laid on top. These *chirds* are found as far up the Tigris as Mosul, and on the lower Euphrates; but on the middle Euphrates with its high sheer banks they disappear, their places being taken by a great water-wheel which turns by the current, lifting the water from the stream by a succession of little pots tied to its circumference which empty themselves into a trough as they reach the top. Skin waterlifts pulled by an animal going up and down a ramp are to be found near Basrah and Baghdad; the *shaduf*, or swipe, exists at Basrah also, just as it is shown on an Assyrian bas-relief.

In the neighbourhood of Amarah the Persian mountains of the frontier first come into view in the east, perhaps the most striking sight in the whole of Mesopotamia, calling to mind the cuneiform sign which means both 'mountain' and 'the east.' They are of limestone, towering in great mass, and form a tremendous barrier against the dwellers in the plain. Snow descends upon them in December, when their summits are crowned with a white mantle. Above Samarra the country begins to undulate, and the river is less navigable. One now comes to Assyria proper with its cities, Ashur, Kalakh and Nineveh all abutting on the river. The date palm ceases to flourish naturally about Tuz Khurmati, although

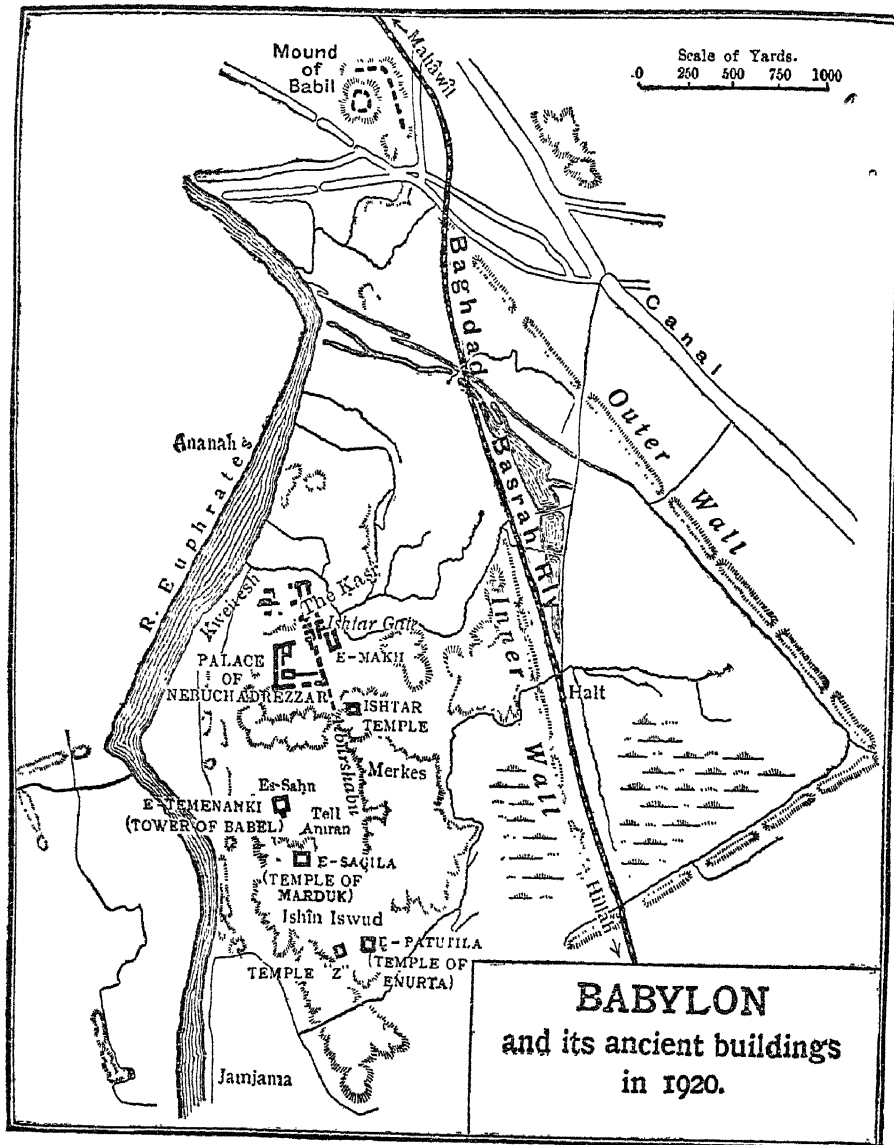
stray palms grow even as high as Mosul. The hills of Jebel Hamrin break the levels to the south of Ashur, and above these round Mosul lie the red undulating ploughlands, like the English west country. Above Mosul the mountains begin.

Up the Euphrates the same law of latitude for the date palm holds good, for it flourishes as high as Anah, but no higher. Here in old times were the red-brown lands of Mari and Sukhi, round the Khabur mouth, and here, long after our period, Shamash-rish-uşur planted palm groves and boasted of his introduction of the bee. Round about Carchemish, a little higher, where each year spring two crops, wheat and licorice, lay the southern confines of the Hittite lands, settled by immigrants from Anatolia, leaving their magnificent mountains for the dusty limestone foothills of Jerābis. The Amanus mountains, which provided wood for boats then, just as they do now, and the Cilician limestone ranges clad with flowers of all hues in June, mark roughly the barrier between Hittite and Semite. These are the lands our traveller would see.

II. BABYLON

Babylon, the Gate of God, or, as a text from Ashur describes it, 'a date of Dilmun, whereof the fruit alone is sweet,' became the capital of this land under Semitic rule. We know far more of its appearance when Nebuchadrezzar was on the throne than at this early period, and we must skip fifteen hundred years or so, and look at it as it was in the sixth century B.C. The foundations of the great buildings go back into the distance of ages; the temples and palaces visible now are more modern. The earliest accessible times are those of the first Babylonian kings, but there is evidence of prehistoric occupation from the neolithic implements. Cf. p. 407 *sq.*

As the traveller drew nearer the great city he was guided by the immense tower of E-temen-ana-ki, 'the Foundation Stone of heaven and earth,' its eight stages, if we may believe Herodotus, showing clear in the sunlight. Round this 'brazen-doored sanctuary of Zeus Belus,' as the Greek called Bel-Marduk, arose a myth of a presumptuous people who would build their tower to touch the sky, and of Yahweh who came down to see the city and the tower, and confounded their speech and scattered them abroad lest they should succeed in their object. 'Therefore is the name of it called Babel,' says the Hebrew writer, 'because Yahweh did there confound the language of all the earth.' So are



myths built up; for Bābel means 'Gate of God' and has nothing to do with the Hebrew word *balal* 'to confound.' Yet, not to mention the psychological interest of the story (see p. 225), it is noteworthy that an echo of part of the legend appears in the very cuneiform legends themselves: it was Marduk who commanded Nabopolassar 'to lay the foundation (of the Tower of Babylon) . . . firm on the bosom of the Underworld, while its top should stretch heavenwards.'

The great towered encircling walls of Babylon rise sheer from the plain, in their outer bastion 3.3 metres thick, fronted by a deep fosse; behind this bastion lies a wall of burnt brick, 7.8 metres thick, and at an interval of about twelve metres another wall of crude brick, 7 metres thick. The space between the two walls is filled with rubble so that a road leads along the top of the walls broad enough for a four-horse chariot, as also do the classical travellers aver. To the north-east the frontage is 4.4 kilometres long, and not quite half that length on the south-eastern side. The circuit of the city was about eighteen kilometres; Herodotus says eighty-six and Ctesias sixty-five, but the German excavator Koldewey thinks they may have mistaken the full circumference for one side.

The great king Nebuchadrezzar, fearing attack from the eastern side where the Euphrates does not shield the wall, had set himself to secure the city: 'That no assault should reach Imgur-Bel, the wall of Babylon, I did what no earlier king had done; for 4000 ells of land on the side of Babylon, so far removed that [no assault] should penetrate, I caused a massive wall to be built on the eastern side of Babylon.' He dug its moat, built a scarp with bitumen and bricks, and made a wall as high as a mountain, made gates of cedar and copper, surrounded it with deep lagoons, piled high an embankment of earth, and made quay-walls of burnt brick. Within this encircling wall lay three main groups of stately buildings. Far to the north is what to-day is called Babil; between Babil and the ziggurat is the *Ḳaṣr*; and just at the southern foot of the ziggurat is the mound of Amran. All round about these palaces on the flat were the flat-roofed, yellow houses snuggled close in streets, especially in the modern Merkes, and to the north-east of the ziggurat, where some richer house was set, a few stray palms or fruit trees rose. As a broad ribbon on the west, with a heavy fringe of palms, flowed the Euphrates, at this period washing the flanks of the *Ḳaṣr*; beyond this were the fields of wheat, and palm groves marking a water-course, until the eye met brown desert or some far city with its

holy pinnacle striking the heavens, like Kish due east, or even Cuthah, visible at a clear time of day, or the ziggurat of Nabū of E-zīda at Borsippa, nine miles to the south-west.

The clustered buildings of Babil to the north are, as they stand now, 22 metres above the plain, and cover an area of 250 metres. Arab brick-robbers, rummaging at random in this later age, scattering the noble buildings of Nebuchadrezzar who has stamped the bricks with his name, have destroyed what must have been his palace, which he seems to have named 'May-Nebuchadrezzar-live-may-he-grow-old-as-the-restorer-of-E-sagila.' Little is known of it from excavation. It is the Kaṣr, the main imposing palace-mound, between it and Amran, which affords our greatest knowledge of Babylon palaces of this period. The Kaṣr, six hundred yards to the north of the ziggurat, in the sixth century bore the great architectural triumphs of Nebuchadrezzar, who completed the works of his father, Nabopolassar. Later on the Greeks called it the Acropolis, the Romans the Arx or citadel; to-day the work which has been laid bare and stands in massive yellow walls is almost all by Nebuchadrezzar.

As one ascends the Kaṣr from the north-east corner, one meets the broad road which leads to the magnificent Gates of Ishtar. It was made by Nebuchadrezzar almost like a sacred way, over which his god Marduk might pass to the temple of E-sagila, south of the ziggurat. Beneath, it was laid on firm foundations of bricks covered with asphalt, and then a surface made of a flagged pavement of limestone and red breccia. Time was when this processional road was flanked by high protecting walls which guarded the approach to the Gate of Ishtar, between long avenues of lions on the walls picked out in low relief with brilliant enamelling; lions to left and right, a hundred and twenty snarling monsters to frighten away all evil from the city. The bricks are burnt bricks, mortared with asphalt and mud, or asphalt and reed straw. Only in his latest buildings did Nebuchadrezzar use lime for mortar; Nabonidus, still later, used asphalt, following the ancient mode, and the Persians, Greeks and Parthians used merely mud.

The great Gates of Ishtar confront the traveller, beetling high above him, when he passes the last lion. This is a double gateway of massive burnt brick, two doorways set close together, formed into one block by short connecting walls, the one behind the other, even now twelve metres high and covered with nine rows of alternate dragons and bulls in relief on the bricks. Once through these monstrous portals, the traveller stands on a high open space before the eastern front of the southern citadel of the mound,

which now lies to the right hand. On the left hand is E-makh, the temple of the goddess Ninmakh, the great lady, of mud bricks covered with white plaster, so that to all appearances it was like white marble in the sun. Like other buildings in the east, it consists of chambers round a rectangular court which lies open to the sky: in front of the entrance is perhaps what was a small altar of mud bricks.

On the right is the southern citadel, a far more splendid building. Originally a palace of Nabopolassar, it had been preserved by Nebuchadrezzar as his dwelling-place while the eastern part was being built, and it contains no less than four great courtyards, round which were scores of chambers. Its wall, high and studded with towers, abutted on the procession-way; its principal court was splendidly adorned with enamelled tiles.

On the western side of this southern citadel ran the historic wall of Imgur-Bel, running along the edge. It had been built by Nabopolassar, and Nebuchadrezzar describes his own additions: 'After Nabopolassar, my father, my begetter, made Imgur-Bel the great wall of Babylon, I, the fervent suppliant, worshipper of the lord of lords, dug its fosses and raised its banks of asphalt and baked bricks mountains high. O Marduk, great lord, behold the costly work of my hands with satisfaction, may'st thou be my helper, my support; grant (me) the gift of long life.'

The centre of the mound holds the principal citadel, due to a second scheme of Nebuchadrezzar. Here was another of his palaces, built with bright yellow bricks, cemented with fine white lime mortar, and here and there a layer of matting or reeds. On the walls were large reliefs of a beautiful blue paste; the flooring was made of paving stones of white and mottled sandstone, and in the courts limestone and black basalt. At the entrance stood gigantic basalt lions; here, too, was found the large basalt group of the lion trampling on a prostrate man—perhaps of allegorical significance.

Leaving the central mound, the way south-eastwards leads to the populous quarter now known as Merkes, where the burghers of Babylon had their homes. The upper remains to-day show Parthian houses, thin walls of mud brick or brick rubble; below these lie the houses of the citizens of the glorious period of Nebuchadrezzar, the houses closely crowded in, but with never a window looking on the street, the narrow streets like any eastern town to-day, their walls stoutly built of mud and brick, good brick their flooring, and the water-supply obtained from numerous circular wells. Earlier, in the late Kassite period (1400–1300 B.C.),

the city was less thickly populated, for, though the walls are as stoutly built, the houses stand at wider intervals. Still earlier, under Hammurabi, the walls are of mud-brick on a foundation of burnt brick. A little to the north of Merkes lay a small temple to Ishtar.

The splendid ziggurat, E-temen-ana-ki, the Tower of Babel, lies in an almost square enclosure, the east side being 409 metres long. Most of the buildings are of crude brick; round the tower are the mansions of the priests, girt about with walls whereof the even lines are broken with high gates and a thousand towers. Here were the treasuries with immense temple-wealth, the guest chambers innumerable for strangers visiting the shrine. Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, the Assyrian kings, anxious to record their names in distant Babylon, like any traveller of any age who can write, restored part of the great fane.

To the south of the Tower, 21 metres below the surface of what is now the mound of Amran, lay the great temple of Marduk, E-sagila. The name is not mentioned in the oldest inscriptions of the south, but when Dungi invaded Babylon he looted the temple. Later, it was rebuilt by Zabum and Agum II, the latter restoring the statue of Marduk carried off in some ancient raid. The temple was almost square, the frontage being 85 and 79 metres on the west and north sides; within is a court 37×31 metres, and on the west side of this was the principal shrine, that of the tutelary deity Marduk. On the north of the court lay also a little shrine to Ea, who in Greek times was identified with Serapis. The two Assyrian kings again carried on restorations here, and the temple was open until at least the Seleucid period, as may be seen from the small objects found in the excavations.

Five hundred yards to the south-east is a small rectangular temple (called 'Z' by Koldewey), made of mud-brick. A short distance to its east lies E-paṭutīla, the shrine of Ninurta, built principally by Nabopolassar.

III. GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

The government of the country changed greatly after the early Sumerian kings of the third millennium, as must naturally happen when the control of the land is becoming centralized. In the very early period the exact relation in meaning of the two words *lugal*, 'king,' and *patesi*, 'prince-priest,' is quite uncertain: Ur-nina (c. 3100 B.C.) calls himself king of Lagash, but Eannatum (c. 3000 B.C.) takes the title patesi of Lagash. As time goes on, and

we reach the period of the Dynasty of Ur about the middle of the third millennium, we can be more definite; the patesi from being the chief secular and religious ruler of a city-state drops to a position of dependence on the overlord, who is now holding the reins of control of the nucleus of an empire in his hands. He has sunk to the minor position of a local governor, natural enough as the stronger states absorbed the weaker. Babylonia by now was no longer divided into just so many states as there were mounds, but had reached the time when city-states were being amalgamated into groups, each under its own king, when Ur held the hegemony of a greater part of the lower plain between the two rivers. The patesi remained in control of his township, but it was as a minor official.

The tablets from Drehem show how numerous these patesis were in the time of the Dynasty of Ur. We know of more than forty districts or townships controlled by them; and in fact almost complete lists of patesis can be made from Umma, Nippur and Lagash from the thirty-fifth year of Dungi until the third of Ibi-Sin. There were many places in Elam under the local control of patesis at this period, as was only natural, since many of the kings of Ur at this time were overlords of Susa and Elam. Of Kazallu we know the names of four (Zarik, Kallamu, Gimil-mama, Abillasha); and on a tablet from Susa we find Zarikim taking office in the presence of ten witnesses, several of whom are obviously Semites. Although the power of the patesis declines, even in the time of the Dynasty of Ur they had the right of legal decision; they were, however, compelled to pay taxes, and might be transferred from one district to another. One of their duties was to take charge of sheep sent in for the temple or for the king. They were, as a rule, appointed to the office, and did not inherit it—although there is one exception: and they found it advantageous to be mindful of the sacrifices to the gods. They might be absent from their posts for a time, probably while on official missions, their places being taken by temporary deputies; for instance, at Umma two are named for the fifty-seventh year of Dungi, and for the fifth year of Bur-Sin. Provisions, consisting usually of food, beer and oil, were supplied both for the journey out and back. From references to kings' daughters at this period it would appear that patesis married them; 'the daughter of the king' marries the patesi of Zabshali, 'the daughter of the king' marries the patesi of Anshan. Ni...midaku, another king's daughter, was actually elevated to the rule of the principality of Markhashi; but in the two former instances there is equally the

possibility that they became the patesis, rather than that they married them.

With the advent of the Semitic kings of the Isin and Larsa dynasties in 2357 the office of patesi was shorn of much of its splendour, and although it continued to exist, the mayor of provincial towns (called *rabianu*) was soon to become a more powerful personality. Hammurabi was not a king with whom decentralization would be popular; he could not grant his subordinates a full measure of power, except in minor cases. Moreover, although meticulously careful of religious matters, he seems to have brooked no challenge from the priests in the matter of control, for we find the old priestly courts disappearing in his reign. Hence may have arisen the reason that the office of patesi, with its priestly reminiscences, as well as its Sumerian origin in its disfavour, fell rapidly from power. The word patesi now represents an officer who takes his orders not directly from the king, but from some official between him and the king. Thus Hammurabi says to Sin-idinnam: 'I wrote to thee that Sin-ilu the patesi who was under Taribatum, whom thou didst assign to *ridūri* (officers of the levy), should be restored as a patesi to the control of Taribatum.' The office is a long way from the king by now. Apparently the governor of Larsa thought he could make a patesi into a *ridū* or officer of the levy, but Sin-ilu must have appealed directly to Hammurabi, availing himself of a privilege as popular with the toadying underling as with the condescending monarch. Such an officer might beg the king to allow him to exchange his district: Apil-Martu, the son of Mini-Martu, a patesi who takes orders from Enubi-Marduk, appeals through Sin-idinnam to Hammurabi that he may serve another chief, and the king assents, providing that the new chief, by name Nabium-malik, gives a patesi to Enubi-Marduk in exchange. Elam relinquished the patesi soon after Dungi's reign, replacing the office by that of the *sukkal*, an indication of Kutur-nakhkhunte's conquest of Babylonia.

The judicial procedure in the time of the Dynasty of Ur appears to have been carried out by a *mashkim* (Semitic *rabīṣu*), who is found present in all trials. Men of this class were not, properly speaking, magistrates; according to Pélagaud they played the part of jury, expert, arbitrator, judge and notary, and there were many of them. Before them were decided all kinds of important cases, particularly of sales. Sometimes the *mashkim* appealed to the *Galu-enim-ma*, a semi-official person whose rôle is not clear. Finally, in cases which the *mashkim* was not capable

of deciding, professional judges were added, called *Sa-Kud*, of whom there might be from two to four. The decisions of even these latter might be challenged and an appeal lodged against them.

In the period of the 1st Dynasty the administration of Babylon and some of the other large towns (such as Sippar-Amnanu) appears to have been in the hands of the *shakkanakku*, 'governor.' Indeed, the *shakkanakku* of Babylon became such an institution that it is usual to find later kings such as Sargon calling themselves by this title rather than *sharru*, 'king.' During the Dynasty of Ur at least a dozen towns or districts have such an officer, but the number appears to have been reduced as time went on. Most of the towns of Babylonia were under a *rabianu*, 'mayor.' Both *shakkanakku* and *rabianu* could preside over courts, the one in Babylon and the other in the inferior courts of Babylon and the provincial towns.

Justice was maintained by a series of courts with a final appeal to the king. But in Hammurabi's time we have still to make the distinction between a priestly and a civil jurisdiction. Under previous kings the priests had the right of judicial decision, and it is only during the 1st Dynasty that we find civil courts with secular judges in full power. Under Hammurabi's rule both the priestly and civil jurisdiction held good, but the ecclesiastical courts were obviously being ousted, and we can see the transformation at work, the civil judges replacing the priests. The alteration was perhaps due to a change in the character of the kingdom: the king does not now represent himself as a god, like Naram-Sin and Dungi, for instance, but calls himself merely 'the favourite of the gods' and their representative. The Sumerian deification of royalty, especially after death, was however continued under the 1st Dynasty, even down to the time of Ammi-zaduga.

There were at least two civil courts prepared to try cases: a lower court, under a *rabianu* in the provincial towns, which disposed of cases in which no appeal was brought, and a high court of appeal at Babylon, consisting apparently of the 'king's judges,' over which the *shakkanakku* may have presided. Our knowledge, however, does not allow us to speak of these courts with any certainty. Beginning with the lower court, we may consider it fairly certain that the mayor (*rabianu*) was the magistrate charged with the maintenance of order in provincial towns. One Nannarmanse writes about a field with which Sin-ishmeanni, the *rabianu* of Kish, and Gimil-Marduk, his successor to the office, had been concerned. Ibi-Sin addresses a letter to the *rabianum* and *shibūti*

(elders) of Bulum. If robbery were committed within his town, it was the duty of the *rabianu* to arrest the malefactors; if he failed, then he and the town were liable to make good the loss of any property stolen. This is still the usual custom in the east.

The *rabianu* at the time of the 1st Dynasty was president of an assembly of old men or notables, a practice which went on into the Neo-Babylonian period. These elders, whose name is synonymous with 'witnesses,' may have formed the 'assembly' before whom (so the Code of Hammurabi lays down) a man was scourged or a prevaricating judge expelled. Ibi-Sin of Ur addresses a letter to the *rabianu* and *shibūti* of Bulum, which shows that the Semites inherited the court from the Dynasty of Ur. The *shibūti*, who appear in the contracts as official witnesses, are doubtless the same as those mentioned in this court. The addressee of letters addressed by name 'Unto X, the Kar-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar' by Samsu-iluna and Abeshu, was probably the *rabianu* of the town. In a record of a trial of Hammurabi's period we find judgment given by the *rabianu* of Sippar, by name Isharlim, along with the Kar-Sippar. It is uncertain whether this court of Kar-Sippar, 'the wall of Sippar,' is to be kept distinct from the Judges of Sippar, on the grounds that the address quoted above always makes the distinction. We have probably also to reckon with a court of similar or equal powers in the provinces, consisting of 'the judges,' with whom the *rabianu* might sit.

The court of appeal at Babylon appears to have been the next in order for a dissatisfied litigant. The difficulty arises at once in defining this or other courts, as the legal decisions are rather vague in their references to 'the Judges of Babylon.' We know, however, that the high governor of Babylon (*shakkanakku*) could preside over a court, which consisted in one case of six persons, among whom were a judge, a prefect (*sha-tam*), and a *mashkim* (see above), a definite survival from Sumerian times. In another court the governor's council consisted of a *rabianu* and ten others. This, then, was the position of the high governor in law, though, whether he was regularly president of the court of appeal at Babylon we cannot be sure. For instance, in a re-trial of a case about an estate in which a priestess of the sun-god (at Sippar) was concerned, the phrasing used makes it impossible for us to determine much about the court; the case was tried before the judges of Babylon and Sippar, and, except that this clearly indicates a court of appeal, we cannot glean much of the details of it. It must of course be remembered that Babylon had its ordinary district court, inferior to the court of appeal. In a case

which was tried at Babylon, the parties concerned, being dissatisfied with the ordinary tribunal, consisting of four judges and two other members, appealed to the higher court, consisting of five judges of whom four had already appeared in the lower; finally, being still dissatisfied, they appealed to the king himself. This right of personal appeal was maintained to its utmost during the 1st Dynasty. It was a survival of the old personal element of Semitic nomad conditions, the summary procedure of the sheikh, and the king was active in seeing personally that justice was done.

Instances of royal interest in legal matters, appeals and re-trials, are common. The king Abeshu writes to 'Sin-idinnam, the Kar-Sippar, and the Judges of Sippar' about two men whose plaint against an elder brother had been pending for two years in the Sippar court, but they had been unable to obtain redress against him. The king directs that this elder brother should be sent to Babylon with the witnesses 'in order that their case may be concluded'; he probably guessed that the real cause of the delay was that the elder brother had probably no case, and had bribed the judges. Bribery, although it can hardly have been as common as it was more recently, did, of course, occur. Hammurabi writes to Sin-idinnam about an alleged case in Dur-gurgurri. A man named Shumman-la-ilu had made a report direct to the king about a bribe; the very man who had taken it, and a witness to the act had been brought before him. The king gave orders that official cognizance should be taken of the matter: 'and if bribery (really) have taken place, set there a seal upon the money or upon that which was offered as the bribe, and cause it to be brought to me. Send also the man who took the bribe, and the witness who hath knowledge of these matters, whom Shumman-la-ilu shall point out to thee.'

The actual procedure in the courts appears to have been for the parties at law to settle on a day, and then appear in court, be it the local temple or the traditional 'Gate,' where the judges first 'saw the pleas,' the plaintiff pleading first and then his opponent, with the deeds relating to the case in front of them. Witnesses were sworn by the local god and the king, and any tampering with witnesses was penalized by the Code. Hammurabi himself was well aware of the worthlessness of evidence after the witnesses had discussed the case together, and in one of his letters gives explicit orders for the separate despatch of men concerned in a trial: 'but when thou shalt send them, thou shalt not send them together, but each man thou shalt send by himself.' In a criminal

case a man was given six months grace by the Code in order to produce his witnesses.

The judges then pronounced their decision. They might also give orders for direct action, as in the case of the restoration of a dowry, where the judges of Babylon wrote to Mukhaddu (who appears to have been a seer in Samsu-ditana's time) thus: 'Concerning the suit of Ilushu-ibishu and Mattatum, we announce (our) judgment to them, according to the law of our lord (the king): Whatever dowry there may be, which Mattatum had given her daughter and had brought into the house of Ilushu-ibishu, we have decided to restore to Mattatum. We will send down a constable (?) with her: let them hand over to Mattatum everything in good condition which they shall find there.'

We do not know if judges received any remuneration, but they belonged to the highest class of officials, and if they revoked their own decisions were liable to be publicly deposed (v)¹.

Records of criminal cases are rare, but one exists in which suspicion of theft has fallen on the servants of a dead man, which has already been mentioned. It appears that one Ibgatum was killed, and after his death, which was not duly notified by these servants to the son and heir, certain of his furniture was found to be missing from the house. The servants were prosecuted, but the judges of Babylon considered that there was no proof of guilt; yet at the same time they agreed to test the defendants on oath and invited them to swear in the Gate of Nungal that first they recognized their omission in not notifying death, and secondly they had stolen nothing. For obvious reasons they declined, and a new trial took place again at Babylon which again failed. The prosecutors then addressed the king direct; one affirms before a god that his father was killed and he was not informed, but he does not venture now to accuse the defendants directly of theft. Had he done so he would have incurred a risk of a breach of the first section of the Hammurabi Code: 'if a man accuses another, and has not proved him guilty, the accuser is liable to death.' Unfortunately we do not know how the case ended.

Leaving the administrative and judicial heads and going to the active agents who controlled the state labour, we find two officials coming into prominence both in the Code and in the letters of the period, the *rid šabi* and the *ba'iru*. The former is the officer in charge of a levy, for whatever purposes it may be used, and the latter a kind of warrant officer. They obeyed the bidding of the

¹ Numerals in brackets refer to sections of the Code of Hammurabi.

king, to go on his errands when ordered; and they might not, on a maximum penalty of death, send a substitute. The natural inference from this is that cowardice would be the normal reason for shirking the duty in person. Even without this indication we can be certain that both were liable to military service, as the Code lays down the procedure for their ransom if they were taken prisoner; if they could not afford to pay the enemy for their release, the temple of their native town must provide, or, in the last resort, the state. This makes it clear that they received considerable benefits and perquisites from the state, and owed fealty to it. Service abroad might keep them long absent from home, and a son might act in the stead of either, and in such a case was to enjoy the benefice which appears to be their right, except that a third part was deducted for the wife of the absent husband with which she might bring up the children. This benefice or feoff was in land, garden, house, sheep, cattle and a salary, directly ascribed to the king as benefactor, and normally, if the officer were at home and neglected it, he ran the risk of forfeiting it.

There is, in fact, a letter from Samsu-iluna in existence which appears to relate to the relinquishing of such a benefice. The king writes to Marduk-našir and the administrators of the (royal) domain of Imgur-Ishtar about one Ibni-Adad, who is under the authority of Belanum, who held and subsequently relinquished an estate in Imgur-Ishtar: '[Now in place of the tenure] which he has relinquished [another has been granted to him in Dur-Sum]u-la-il, tenure of Ibni-Adad, which [he has relinquished]. Give them to Wali, the Elamite, who is under the authority of Belanum, the *Gal-Martu*. Furthermore, write afresh on a tablet the designation of the field, land, and boundaries of the field which you shall give: let me have the old one, send it to me: let a sealed document be delivered to him.' Now we fortunately possess the sequel to this letter, the instructions from Marduk-našir to Sin-gamil and Ninurta-mušhalim about this estate. 'A letter has arrived from my lord (the king) that this field is to be given to Wali the Elamite, who is under the authority of Belanum, the *Gal-Martu*. I have sealed (it) and am sending it on to you.' The estate of Ibni-Adad is to be given to Wali. 'As for the designation of the field, land, and boundaries of the field which you shall give, let me have its ancient (one), and send it to me, that I may (send) it to my lord. Let a sealed document be delivered to him.'

It appears that the levy might be called out for military service, or might even be taken locally for repairing temporary damage to the canals of their own city. In the press-gang or levy

it was no protection in Hammurabi's time for a man to be on the staff of a patesi, for twice at least did the king write to Sin-idinnam, telling him to arrest, in one case, two men, and, in another, four men who were under the control of a patesi. But the persons of the patesis themselves, although liable to taxes, were in a measure sacrosanct as regards transference against their will to another department. The old religious side of their profession still appears as a reminiscence in one of Hammurabi's letters which mentions a priest of Anunit who is also a patesi of Anunit.

We have little knowledge of the police-system that was in vogue in Hammurabi's time, but certain inferences may be drawn from a letter sent by Etil-pi-Marduk to Shumma-Anum: 'Idin-Ishtar, the Chief of Police (*pa-khat sha sab-mašsar-a-tim*) hath thus spoken: "Eṭirum of the police of my house hath deserted and is (now) living in Dilbat with Shumma-Anum, the shepherd. I have sent to arrest this Eṭirum, but Shumma-Anum, the shepherd, hath not surrendered this Eṭirum to the man whom I sent to arrest him.'" We cannot say definitely whether the police were under the control of one head or whether each city had its own system, but Idin-Ishtar would hardly have arrested a deserter in Dilbat on his own initiative if there had been a different police control in that city; the correct method in such a case would have been for him to write to the chief of the Dilbat police to arrest his man. If, however, Idin-Ishtar were supreme chief of police in Babylonia, he might reasonably send an officer direct to Shumma-Anum's house to effect his purpose.

The Code of Hammurabi allows us to speak with no little accuracy of the laws of Babylonia and the penalties attached for their breach. What strikes the reader at first sight is the severity of the punishments, as being contrary to the opinions which the thousands of contracts and letters of this period naturally induce. These, the most human documents which survive, do not necessarily breathe the ferocity involved in their quotations from the ancient laws threatening the dire penalties which will overtake either party who shall break the contracts; they quote, but they do not compel conviction that they are always in earnest.

The fact is most probable that these ancient laws, preserved by a naturally conservative race who adopted them from their Sumerian inventors, were never repealed: the antiquated and severe penalties doubtless put into force in early times, merely represented to the 1st Dynasty the *maximum* penalties which the state could inflict. The Semites of Hammurabi's period were

neither modern savages nor Europeans of a couple of centuries ago. It is true that the penalty laid down in a contract of this period from the middle Euphrates (doubtless not far from the neighbourhood of Hit, the bitumen city) is that the delinquent shall have his head smeared with hot tar; it might be as cruel as the pitch-cap once used in Ireland, but it might not be more uncomfortable than tar-and-feathering. The particular penalties inflicted by the Code, which appear to be out of all proportion to the offence, are death by fire for a temple votary who opens a beer-shop or even enters one, death by drowning for a beer-seller for some malpractice in selling beer, and impalement for a wife who procures her husband's death. It must be doubted whether such penalties had not fallen into desuetude by the time Hammurabi set up his Code. Besides these penalties a tablet of the period of Shagarakti-Shuriash shows that imprisonment was a form of punishment.

The Code lays down the death-penalty, in some cases specifying the method, for the following crimes (the number in brackets refers to the section):—Rape (cxxx). Brigandage, burglary and theft in various forms (ix *sq.*, xxi *sq.*; in the case of a governor xxxiv); especially of goods from palace or temple, including the receiver (vi), and (in the case of a man who is too poor to pay compensation) of animals or a boat belonging to temple or palace (in this case it may be compounded by richer folk, viii). A thief stealing from a burning house was to be burnt (xxv). Stealing the son of a man (*amelu*, xiv). Adultery with a daughter-in-law (the man to be drowned, clv). Incest with a mother (both to be burned, clvii). Adultery of a married woman (cxxxix) (both to be drowned, unless the husband save his wife, or the king his servant: cf. also cxxxiii). A flagrantly careless and uneconomical wife (to be drowned, cxliii). A wife causing her husband's death, in order to marry another (to be impaled or crucified, cliii). A *Sal-Me*-priestess, or *Nin-An*-priestess, not living in a cloister, opening a wine-shop, or even entering one (to be burnt, cx). Harboursing (or helping to escape) runaway slaves of the palace, or of a *mush-kinu* (xv *sq.*, xix). In the old Sumerian law it is laid down that if a man harbour a slave 'during a month, he shall give slave for slave, or failing that, twenty-five silver shekels.' Cowardice in the face of the enemy and neglect of duty by certain officials (xxvi, xxxiii). A builder who builds a house which falls and causes the death of the owner (ccxxxix); or in the case of its killing the son of the owner, the builder's son is to be put to death (ccxxx). If the son of a *mush-kinu* on whom a distraint has been levied, be taken in distraint

and die from hunger or blows in the house of the distrainer, the son of the distrainer is to be put to death (cxvi). If a man strike the daughter of an *amelu* when she is pregnant, so that she die, his daughter shall be put to death (ccx). Malpractices in selling beer (the proprietress of the tavern to be drowned, cviii). Harboursing outlaws in a tavern (the proprietress liable, cix). Bringing a false accusation, sorcery, etc. (i sq.). Wrongfully accusing witnesses of perjury in a capital charge (iii). Purchase, or receipt as deposit, of goods belonging to a man from either his son or his slave without witnesses or bonds (vii). Failing to bring witnesses in an accusation of theft (xi).

Trial by ordeal existed, when a man was accused of sorcery, or a woman accused of adultery without sufficient evidence (ii, cxxxii). In both cases the accused were to leap into the river, their innocence being established if they came out alive. Many of the minor penalties are based on the principle of the *lex talionis*; if a man strikes his father, his hands are to be cut off (cxcv); if he knock out the eye of an *amelu* or break his limb, the same shall be done to him (cxcvi sq.); the tooth of an equal demands the same retaliation (cc). Cutting out the tongue, putting out an eye, or cutting off a nurse's breasts come under the same head (cxcii sq.). A man might be scourged with sixty strokes of an ox-hide whip for striking a superior (ccii); he might be banished from the city for incest with a daughter (cliv). False accusation of adultery against a wife or *Nin-An*-priestess was punished by marking or branding the forehead of the accuser (cxxxvii).

The law laid down the fees for surgeons, veterinary surgeons, the wages of builders, brickmakers, tailors, stonemasons, carpenters, boatmen, ox-drivers, herdsmen, shepherds, or labourers, and the hire of oxen and asses (ccxxviii sq.). The unfortunate surgeon who made a mistake in his treatment was liable to severe penalties.

Fines were a common form of penalty. Restitution threefold was exacted for cheating a principal (cvi), five-fold for loss or theft by carrier (cxii), six-fold for defrauding an agent (cvii), ten-fold for theft from temple or palace by a *mushkinu* (the lower orders), and thirty-fold by an *amelu* or gentleman (viii).

With this mention of the social castes in Babylonia it is well to turn aside to see how sharply divided the aristocracy, the middle classes, and the slaves were.

Throughout Babylonia by Hammurabi's time the population, owing to various invasions, was a mixed one. In the earlier times the Elamites had descended on southern Babylonia, only to be

subjugated by the Sumerians who were of an entirely different race. These and the Semites represent the three chief types. There must also have been some small infiltration of Kassites and possibly even of Hittites, although perhaps this is anticipating. At all events, the Code makes provision for three orders or classes of individuals—the *amelu* or noble, the *mushkinu* or plebeian, and the slave. The *amelu* formed the predominant class, and Dr Johns thought that they came from the conquering race of Semites, the word in the Tell el-Amarna letters (c. 1400) being still used as an official title. The *mushkinu* is more difficult; it is a word which ultimately reached Europe, the French being *mesquin*. But in southern Arabia the corresponding word means, according to Snouck Hurgronje, those who are neither descendants of the Prophet, nor nobles related to the family of the Prophet, nor secular nobles. They are labourers, workmen, merchants, school-masters, courtiers, beggars; they have not the right to carry arms; no organization; they are entirely under the dominion of the nobles. According to the Hammurabi Code the *mushkinu* is inferior to the *amelu* but better off than the slave.

In these two classes, it is curious to see that the punishments were more severe on the *amelu* 'patrician' than on the *mushkinu*; difference of race or, perhaps, *noblesse oblige* may have been at the base of it. The *mushkinu* was punished in a less primitive and ferocious manner than the *amelu*, frequently being simply fined; where the noble was dealt with eye for eye and tooth for tooth, the plebeian was merely mulcted in damages. This certainly suggests that a very sharp line was drawn between the two classes, indicating a difference of race. The *mushkinu* was in no wise a slave; he might hold slaves and goods, he seems to have been liable to conscription, and in Sippar he had his own particular quarter, the *Mushkinutu*. But he differed from the *amelu* in that he was not of the governing classes. *Amelu*, in fact, came in time to be used as meaning simply a respectable person.

Among the higher professional ranks we must reckon the learned pursuits of scribe, physician, and priest, and the upper government. The son of Ur-negun, a patesi of Umma, follows the profession of letters; so does a son of Ne...an, patesi of Cuthah, about the end of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur. Even the son of Gudea himself, Lugal-shi-dup, and Lugal-ushumgal, the patesi of Lagash, call themselves scribes. The office was not a priestly one; it was a profession by itself, and when a record of a contract was necessary, the scribe wrote the whole of the document himself, including witnesses' names. Doubtless the lower orders of

the profession sat about the streets as they do to this day, with style and blank clay tablet or lump of moist clay, ready to write letters home for the ignorant and homesick sojourners.

Women were not debarred from carrying on professions or trades, and even that of scribe is not omitted in their various callings. They might act as witnesses to a deed or rent property. As a rule, however, we usually find women attached to the temple, and as kings' daughters certainly as early as the 1st Dynasty down to the time of Nabonidus could be priestesses, we may take it that the profession ranked very high in Babylonian society. Social custom allowed women great independence; even as early as the 1st Dynasty Babylonian law recognized in the free woman a broad capacity in legal matters. We are not certain whether marriage altered her status. The husband and wife together would make contracts, *e.g.* in the purchase of a slave; and in eleven out of sixteen purchase-tablets from Sippar, of the 1st Dynasty (published by G. S. Duncan, 1914), women are buyers, and in six they are sellers. Particularly noticeable is the freedom with which rich priestesses conduct their own monetary affairs; their capacity for business, as will be discussed further on, appears to have been great.

The institution of slavery dates back to the earliest time. Even on the stele of Manishtusu (*c.* 2800 B.C.) we find a slave-girl who is worth thirteen shekels, while nine other slaves, male and female, are reckoned for one-third of a mana each. (A mina or mana weighed approximately 500 grams; it contained 60 shekels and was $\frac{1}{60}$ of a talent.) According to the Code (xvi–xviii), it is clear that the slave was personally the property of his owner; he might not run away (which he did occasionally), it was illegal to harbour him if a fugitive, and a reward was fixed for his recapture. A slave was subject to the 'levy' for forced labour (xvi); he might be sold, or pledged for debt (cxviii), and in theory his property belonged to his owner (*cf.* clxxvi), but on the other hand, it was his master's duty to pay the doctor's fees if he were sick (ccxix, ccxxiii). There appears to have been less of the stigma attaching to a slave than we are accustomed to associate with the word, for he might marry a free² woman, and in that case the children were free (clxxv *sq.*); the slave and his free wife might acquire property, half of which would fall to the wife and children after his death (clxxvi). In just the same way children borne by a slave-woman to her master were free after his death, and the mother after the death of her master would go free (clxx *sq.*). The slave was marked (ccxxvi *sq.*), but how we are not able to say for certain; the prob-

ability is that it was by branding or tattooing. In later times the slave wore a little clay docket attached to his person like a soldier's identification disk.

Captives taken in battle became slaves. For instance, in the time of the Kassite king Burna-Buriash, a man called 'Elamite' is said to be worth ten shekels of gold; on a tablet of the time of Abeshu a slave-girl from Subartu (north of Babylonia) is mentioned; in Ammi-ditana's time a slave-girl named Ina-Eulmashbanat, from the town of Ursum (presumably a foreign place), was worth actually fifty-one shekels of silver. There was a wide variation in the value of a slave; in Ammi-ditana's reign a man-slave reached the high price of ninety shekels, while we find a woman fetching so little as $3\frac{5}{8}$ shekels under Samsu-iluna.

A significant law enacts that any *amelu*, 'patrician,' who steals the babe of another *amelu* shall be put to death (xiv). Native Babylonians might be made slaves if they transgressed certain laws. A worthless wife became a slave in her own house if her husband took another wife (cxli), or an adopted son might be sold if he repudiated his parents¹. Again, a maid whom a *Sal-Me* gave to her husband in order that she might bear him children, might be sold into slavery if she did not have offspring; and, if children were born by her and she arrogated to herself equal status with her mistress, she rendered herself liable to be reckoned again among the maidservants (cxlvi sq.).

Slaves, as ever, ran away from their masters. A certain Warad-Bunene, in the time of Ammi-ditana, whose master had sold him into the land of Ashnunnak for $1\frac{1}{2}$ manas of silver, had served there for five years, and then ran away home to Babylon. Here two officials, Sin-mushallim and Marduk-lamassashu, found him and, on the grounds that he had ceased to be a slave, made him liable for military service. But Warad-Bunene, like many another and more modern inhabitant of Babylon, declared that he would not serve as a soldier, as he was going to carry on the service of his father's house. This was allowed him; and so long as he should live, he was permitted to carry on the business of his father's house with his brothers unchallenged. Ingenuous indeed is the promise made by a slave in the presence of witnesses in the second year of Ibi-Sin that he will not escape. On the other hand, we find gifts made to slaves by royalty: 'Kukka-nasher, the mighty vizier, the vizier of Elam, lord of Shimash. . . son of the sister of Silkhakha, has shown favour to Shukshu and Makhisi of the town of Khamman, slaves,' and presented them with a piece of land.

¹ This is according to the contracts, but is not in the Code.

Leaving the subject of the different social castes we can now treat of the ordinary life of the individual.

IV. PRIVATE LIFE

Marriage was for life, and a contract was an essential; the Code is explicit on the point that a woman is not a wife unless she has her 'bonds' (*rikistu*) or 'marriage lines' (cxxxviii). There is no proof of any ceremony other than the legal contract before witnesses: the tablet which some years ago was thought to contain a wedding-service is merely a practice tablet with quotations first from the Gilgamesh epic, where Istar proposes marriage, and afterwards from an incantation tablet against demons. Nor do we know whether love-matches were common, whether the oriental 'middling-gossip' aided the lovers as a go-between, or how much the young couple saw of each other before the ceremony.

The suitor came to the father of his intended bride bearing a bride-gift (*terkhatu*), the relic of the old purchase-money. The conventional amount, to be returned on divorce, was one mana of silver for a patrician (cxxxix) and one-third of that amount for a plebeian (cxl); actually ten shekels was paid in one case in Hammurabi's time. The father of the bride was expected to give her a dowry, and she would bring a trousseau with her (cf. below, p. 546). Dr Johns thinks that men married while they were young and living at home; certainly, the Code contemplates the bride being brought to live in the father-in-law's house. The curious passage in the Legend of Gilgamesh, where the hero taunts Ishtar with her past loves, seems to have some bearing on this:

Thou didst love Ishullanu, gardener he of thy sire,
Faithfully bringing thee blossoms (?) (and) each day he brightened thy platter,
So that thine eye fell upon him, and (straightway thus) didst address him:
'Ishullanu of mine, come, let us (now) taste of thy manhood.'

So she goes on: and Ishullanu answers her:

'Bethink thee, what dost thou ask me,
Ne'er have I eaten of aught (unless) my mother hath baked it,
What I should eat would be bread of shame and adultery.'

There is, it must be admitted, a difficulty in translating the crabbed line, the last but one.

The law is definite in the case of breach of promise, when the suitor has already made advances to the family of his prospective bride. If he changes his mind about the lady (having 'looked upon another woman,' as the Code says, clix), her father is

entitled to retain the purchase-price which the suitor has already paid. If, on the other hand, the lady's father, after the negotiations are complete, refuses to give the suitor his daughter, he must pay him double the amount which he has received (CLX). Again, if everything is ready for the marriage, but the father of the bride hearkens to slander against the bridegroom and repudiates the bargain, he is to pay back twice the amount as before, 'and the slanderer shall not have his wife' (CLXI).

It was usual to have only one chief wife, but additions were frequently made to the harem. In the Epic of Gilgamesh the mourner is addressed as one who is so fearful of the dead that he dare not make himself conspicuous.

Thou dardest not set shoe to thy foot, not let echo the earth (with thy footfall),
Nor kiss the wife whom thou lovest, nor beat the wife whom thou hatest.

In the case of a lasting illness the man might marry another wife, but he would have to provide for the first one (CXLVIII). Such a second wife held full legal position, and her children were legitimate. But he might take a concubine or second wife (*Shu-Ge-tum*) with inferior status. A man in Sin-muballit's time took two sisters to wife at once, Taram-Saggil and Iltani, but there was no doubt about the precedence. It is laid down in the deed of marriage that Iltani is to wash the feet of her sister, and to carry her stool to the temple of her god. There is a penalty against the unfortunate Iltani if she should rebel against her inferior status, for if she say to Taram-Saggil 'thou art not my sister,' or if she should say to her husband 'thou art not my husband,' they shall throw her into the river. In another case, one Akhuni pays a *terkhatu* to the father of a girl named Ishtar-ummi; he already has a wife Kadimatum, and if the new wife should annoy Kadimatum, the latter may sell her into slavery.

The position of the slave-girl as concubine was entirely different from that of the wife. She was not a wife, and her children were not free, unless the father declared them to be legitimate, in which case they were on the same footing as the legitimate children with right to inherit. For instance Mar-iršitim took Atkal-ana-belti, a slave-girl, to wife. If she should ever be unfaithful, a mark was to be set on her and she was to be sold. Whatever she possessed at the time of the contract and whatever she should possess in future, belonged to Mar-iršitim. Again, in Hammurabi's time, a girl, Shamash-nuri, was bought from her father by a man Bunene-abi and a woman Belissunu to be a wife to Bunene-abi and a slave to Belissunu. If she should say to the

latter 'thou art not my mistress' she was to be marked and sold. In another case (in Sumu-la-ilum's time) the daughter of a woman appears to have been bound in some way to her mother. 'Ana-Aya-uzni is the daughter of Salimatum. Salimatum has "cleansed" her, and has given her to Belshunu, son of Nemelum, in marriage. Ana-Aya-uzni is free: no one can make any claim against Ana-Aya-uzni.' The rite or ceremony of 'cleansing' implies apparently that all rights over the girl have been given up; it is the usual phrase for freeing a slave-girl. One Dushuptum ('honey-sweet') manumits her maid, 'her forehead she has cleansed.' A woman dedicates her daughter to the goddess Ishtar: 'Amat-Ishtar is the daughter of Kunutum; Kunutum, her mother, has given her to Ishtar: she is clean,' *i.e.* is clear of obligations.

According to the Code divorce was a simple matter for the man, but far more serious and difficult for the wife. A man might repudiate his wife, nominally on payment of a *douceur*; but in a stipulated case in Hammurabi's time, if the husband repudiated his wife, he was compelled to leave her the house and go out empty-handed. The woman was in an entirely different position. Regarded as a possession and a chattel, for her to repudiate her husband, presumably by adultery, rendered her liable to death by drowning, or by being thrown from a tower. The husband, however, might divorce her for folly and carelessness in the household management; he merely said 'I divorce her' and need pay nothing. Should he not do so, doubtless, of course, after the case had been legally proved, the foolish wife would, if the man took another wife, be in the position of a slave in the house (CXLII). Ill-treatment on the part of the husband resulting in dislike and hatred for him on the part of the wife, was sufficient grounds for a woman to take her dowry back and return to her father's house, always presuming that her conduct had been above reproach (CXLII). If, however, it were found that she had been indiscreet in the past and (presumably) had alleged her husband's treatment as a cause for her leaving him, she incurred the risk of drowning (CXLIII). At the same time, when Enlil-idzu, the priest, married Ama-sukkal, the penalties for divorce on her side were not heavy. 'Enlil-idzu, priest of Enlil, son of Lugal-azida, has taken Ama-sukkal, daughter of Ninurta-mansi to wife. Nineteen shekels of silver Ama-sukkal has brought to Enlil-idzu, as his wife. In future, if Enlil-idzu says to Ama-sukkal, his wife, "Thou art not my wife" he shall return the nineteen shekels of silver and in addition, pay half a mana as her divorce-money. If Ama-sukkal says to Enlil-idzu, her husband, "Thou art not my husband"

she shall forfeit the nineteen shekels of silver and in addition, pay half a mana of silver. In mutual agreement they have both sworn by the name of the king.'

A side-light is thrown on the slave-raiding razzias—they are nothing more—of enemy neighbours. If a woman's husband was captured by a foe, she was bound to remain faithful to her absent husband if he had provided for her; and if she went off with another man she was treated as an adulteress and incurred death (cxxxiii). But if the maintenance left behind for her by her husband at the wars was not enough, she was allowed to marry again if he was captured, and she might bear the new husband children (cxxxiv *sq.*). If however the prisoner escaped from the hands of the enemy, and returned, the woman was obliged to return to him, although the children of her new family remained with their rightful father (cxxxv). As a concrete instance we may cite the following divorce. In the time of Sin-muballit, Shamash-rabi, gives his wife a bill of divorcement: 'Shamash-rabi has divorced Naramtum. . . she has received back her dowry. If any one marries Naramtum, Shamash-rabi will raise no claim.'

The Code punished adultery with drowning, but it had to be flagrant and not merely suspected (cxxxix, cxxxi). The private contracts of marriage also indicate death by drowning for adultery, but sometimes, as an alternative, declare that the woman shall be thrown from a high tower. But a husband might forgive his wife on this count, or the king himself intervene to save the adulterer who was his servant (cxxxix). Section cxxxii of the Code provides, as we have already seen, an ancient ordeal for a woman suspected of adultery.

The rights of a father, and in a less degree, of a mother over the children, appear to be despotic. A man could treat his child like a slave as a chattel to be pledged for debts, to work off the debt for three years, but in this he had the same rights even over a wife (cxvii). Daughters were at their father's disposal for marriage, and he was expected, though not bound, to provide them with a dowry: he might dedicate them to a temple, also with a dowry, which bears the vivid suggestion that they were married to the god (clxxviii *sqq.*). In the old Sumerian code the father had a perfect right to disinherit his son with the words 'Thou art not my son.' Hammurabi limited this absolute power, making a legal process necessary with good reasons for the act (clxxviii). In the old laws a child who repudiated his father met with stern treatment, which degraded him to the status of a slave, and he might also be branded. The mother in early times held much the

same rights as the father: her undutiful son was branded and expelled from house and city, although he was not sold as a slave. In the older laws she could thus disinherit her son, a right for which the Code of Hammurabi gives no authority.

Children were frequently adopted into Babylonian families, and the reason appears often to be that the parents, having married off their own children, feared to have none to look after them in their old age. The relationship was the same as that of a son born in matrimony; the deed expressly stated the responsibilities of the new son and the inheritance he might expect. For an adopted child to repudiate his new parents was regarded as unspeakably base, and he could be sold into slavery. This fear of destitution in old age is apparent in a wedding contract of the time of Zabum, where a mother, doubtless in this case a widow, gives her daughter in marriage in a marriage-deed. 'Innabatum hath given Akhkhu-ayabi her daughter, in marriage to Zukaliya. If Zukaliya leaves her, he will pay her one mana of silver; if Akhkhu-ayabi takes a dislike to him, they shall throw her from a tower. So long as Innabatum lives, Akhkhu-ayabi shall support her, (but) after the death of Innabatum no one shall have any claim on Akhkhu-ayabi.' Indeed when a woman grew old she would anticipate her bequests to her children in return for maintenance. In the reign of Bur-Sin (of Isin) Nin-me-dugga bequeaths a house and maid to her daughter Nin-dingir-azag-mu, in return for which, during the mother's lifetime, the daughter was to give her mother $\frac{1}{2}$ gur, 5 ka of food yearly (*gur* = 300 *ka*; later 180 *ka*).

After the death of a father a division of property among the children (and the widow) followed. The sons inherited equally, and there was no right of primogeniture as in Israel, although a father might bequeath a special legacy to a favourite (CLXV). The daughter who had already a dowry is excluded from a share in the inheritance; otherwise her brothers portioned her off (CLXXXIII sq.). There are special clauses about daughters who have become priestesses (CLXXVIII sqq.). The widow inherited the same share of the property as each of the children, as well as her original marriage portion; she had the right to stay on in the home until she died, being thus head of the family. If, however, she wished to marry again, she might choose for herself without having to be given in marriage, and she could take with her her original dowry; but she must leave behind any settlement from her husband. There was a lien even on her dowry, because if she bore children to her new husband, they and her former children shared it equally after her death (CLXXII sq.). The Code is elaborate in

regard to the inheritance of children by different wives, concubines and maidservants.

If a man's wife died childless, the husband was bound to return to her family the dowry she had brought with her, but he could deduct the value of the *terkhatu* which he had paid to her father, if it had not already been returned to him as was due (CLXIII sq.).

The business of selling a piece of property was conducted on definite and traditional lines. The clay tablet of the contract was written out by the scribe on an ancient model, constantly in Sumerian or, at any rate, full of Sumerian words, which gradually dropped out in the time of the Ist Dynasty, although the usage can be traced down to the time of the Kassites. The transaction was witnessed by several people, male or female, whose names were attached by the scribe, and the sealings were made by rolling on the clay the carven stone cylinders possessed by all who could afford them. The contracting parties would swear by the local gods and the king by name, that no claim would be made either by themselves or their heirs against the new purchaser in regard to the property. For instance, at Sippar, in Sumu-abum's time, Shamash and the king are invoked, at Dilbat it is Urash and the king. After the time of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon the practice of recording a formal oath began to die out and various devices were used as a substitute, *e.g.* the impression of finger-nails or seals, and above all the pronunciation of an additional malediction or benediction. In Kassite times at Nippur the gods invoked in addition to the king were Enlil, Ninurta and Nusku.

Babylonian law distinguished between real and personal property. If in certain circumstances an adopted child is disinherited the Code allows him a third of the share of a son in the father's goods, but no share in the fields, gardens, or house (CXCI). Pasture-land, on the other hand, as Dr Johns pointed out, was not owned, and if this applies to desert land, after the spring rains, which is the usual grazing ground for the cattle near villages, this is explicable. Grazing land represents 'common' land probably, and Dr Johns' suggestion that to have brought it under cultivation was originally enough to establish a title to it is probably the correct one. Land was not uncommonly let out on the *metayer* system, the landlord providing draught cattle and seed, and the harvest obtained by some one else's labour paying his share of the profit (XLIII sq., CCLIII). But fields might also be let at a fixed rent, usually payable in kind; the tenancy was generally for three years (XLIV). Houses were commonly leased on a yearly tenancy, the average rent having been calculated to be one shekel yearly. The

cost of repairs fell on the tenant; he usually paid down some part of the rent as earnest-money, and until this was done he was not allowed to make alterations.

The custom of giving a *bakshish* in addition to the arranged price was in vogue even from earlier times (p. 528). In the Semitic document of Manishtusu (c. 2800 B.C.) not only is a price paid, but a present is given to the seller; in a contract of Abeshu's time, one-sixth of a shekel is thrown in as *sibika*, or additional *bakshish*, to the proper price of six shekels for a slave.

Loans, as is natural in a country where the population is largely agricultural and coined money does not exist, are frequently in kind to be repaid in kind. The period at which expenses were highest was of course the harvest when labour was dear and very often difficult to obtain; and adventurous spirits from neighbouring countries, like the Kassites, would come in for work on the harvest, just as well-paid excavations on ancient mounds or modern railways will draw them. It is common to find loans made, especially by the temples, in anticipation of the harvest, either for labour in sowing and particularly in reaping. The date for the return of the money is constantly given as 'the day of the harvest.' The harvest was given as an excuse for absence or delay; Hammurabi complains to Sin-idinnam that he has already written to him about sending one Sheb-Sin, 'a scribe of the merchants,' whose duties appear to have been those of a revenue-collector, but that he had not appeared. 'Thou dost reply "The scribes of the merchants say 'Since it is now the time of harvest, we will come after the harvest is over'." After this fashion spake they unto thee, and thou didst write (of it). Behold, the harvest is now over.'

Men constantly went into partnership, especially when they were speculating in corn-sowing. For instance, six people join in renting a field near the village of Tukhamu amid *k̄hilbi* (wood?) and *širi* (desert) to sow it with corn and share the results after the harvest. When the partnership terminated it was usual to go to the temple, particularly the door of the temple, to complete the division of assets.

From this rapid survey of the government and the laws we may turn to the literature and religion.

V. RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

It need hardly be said that every town of any eminence had a temple to its tutelary or patron deity. In Babylonia, during the 1st Dynasty of Babylon, with the rise of the city of Hammurabi the power of Marduk, his great god, was correspondingly promoted until he attained a position in the pantheon from which only Ashur thrust him. But, although Hammurabi might consider him as peculiarly his patron god, the popular view of the local powers of the different gods was far too strong to allow Marduk the hegemony over the pantheon. However devoutly Marduk might be worshipped in his temple of E-sagil in Babylon, in Larsa or Sippar it would be the sun-god Shamash in his own temple E-Babbara, and in Erech the mother-goddess Innini, or Ishtar, in her shrine E-anna. The moon-god Nannar had his temple E-gishshir-gal in Ur, Enlil his temple E-kur in Nippur, Nabū his temple E-zida in Borsippa; there was no end to them.

But although each city recognized its own patron god, it was by no means so exclusive as to eliminate the worship of other gods within its precincts. In this the Babylonians were catholic and open-minded: they recognized the existence of an Olympus made up of many deities, the result doubtless of a growth which had been going on for hundreds of years, an amalgamation of different local tribal gods. In Lagash, the city protected by Ningirsu, long before our period Eannatum had built a temple E-anna to Innini, which was burnt in a raid by the troops of Umma in the time of Urukagina. In Babylon where Marduk was supreme, was a temple to Adad called E-namkhe; in Sippar, the city sacred to the sun, was E-ulmash to Anunit. It was open to any ruler to found temples to gods other than the special guardian gods in any city, and equally open to anyone to build a private chapel of his own. In the time of Sumu-ilum a certain Nur-ilishu, son of Enlil-nada, built a temple to his god Lugal and goddess Shullat (neither of them well known), and gave the land for that purpose. He installed Puzur-Shamash as priest, and signed a deed promising not to raise any claim against the priests in future.

The gods of the old Sumerian Olympus, such as could be easily identified by the Semites with their own deities, were retained under Semitic names: Babbar, Nannar, Innini and Enlil become Shamash, Sin, Ishtar and Bel. The sun-god Shamash (sometimes in the form Samsu in names, as in Arabia), worshipped at Sippar and Larsa, is as much a Semitic god as Babbar was Sumerian; the moon-god Sin, worshipped at Harran and called

Sahar in Syria, can easily take the place of Nannar or Enzu at Ur. Innini is the mother-goddess and as such is the same as Ishtar, whose name is repeated in the west as Astarte (the biblical Ashtōreth), and in Arabia as a male Athtar. She is to be found in various forms in the near east, frequently as a naked female figure offering her breasts; there is a large sculpture of her at Carchemish, full face in relief, and probably the broken statue of a goddess dedicated by Assur-bel-kala, which was found at Nineveh and is now in the British Museum, was the same. This last must undoubtedly have marked the position of E-mashmash, the temple of Ishtar; it was found by Hormuzd Rassam at Kuyunjik behind Sennacherib's palace, near where his inscriptions would lead us to locate it. The name of Bel, 'the lord,' represents the familiar *ba'al* of the western Semites, and the worship of this specific god in the form Bel, Bil, Bēlos, appears to have spread from Babylon into the western lands, rather than eastwards to Mesopotamia from Syria.

Enki was originally the god of the earth and then, by association with rivers, was worshipped as a god of the water by the Semites, becoming Ea. Ninurta (Ninib), about whose name is still much doubt, was, as lord of Girsu (Telloh), at least as old as Eannatum. The great god of the west appears to have been Hadad, Adad, Addu, Ramman, the god of storms, wind and rain; he came into Babylonia with the western Semites as Martu (Amurru), the god of the west (see pp. 231, 454). The minor gods are well nigh innumerable, and among these must be counted the different forms which many of the major gods assume, or rather perhaps, the various identifications of local gods and goddesses with some chief deity. Hammurabi speaks of Anu, Enlil, Ninlil, Enki, Babbar, Enzu and Im, but these are followed by Zamama, Ninni (Istar) and Ne-unu-gal (Nergal), who form a third triad, and Nintud and Ninkarrak, both forms of the mother-goddess. Zamama and Ne-unu-gal are both forms of Ninurta (Ninib), who is also identified with Ningirsu of Lagash. Dagan appears to be exclusively west Semitic. Ashur or Ashir, the national god of Assyria from whom the country took its name, appears before Hammurabi's time, and may represent an earlier form, An-Shar, which appears in the Babylonian Creation Legend; but he never took rank in Babylon, at least in the form Ashur.

The temple was closely bound up with the daily life of the people. Deities were very human in their ways, for they were merely men and women gifted with tremendous powers, and their foibles and emotions were exactly the same. The dwellers in

Mesopotamia lived in close relationship with them; the gods would dine with them at a sacrificial feast, feeding on beeves and sheep, the first-fruits of plants and grain, beer and wine; they would intermarry with their women, and of their union demi-gods would be born (cf. also Gen. vi, 1 *sqq.*). The temple represented a concrete bond between men and gods, as the house of the god who lived among his people: they fed him and provided him with his earthly needs, they invoked him with prayers and hymns to their aid in time of trouble, and it was for him to help them to fight their battles against man and nature in this world. With the next world, that misty and ill-defined Hades whither the poor soul, reft of mortality, went, the city-god had no concern, for he could no more exceed his province in the unseen spheres than a king could transgress a neighbour's boundary, or a man of one tribe trespass at free will in the domain of another. Hades had its peculiar god, Nergal, who does not rank among the nobles of the pantheon; he holds an almost inferior position among them, and sometimes appears to be subservient to Ereshkigal or Allatu, his wife, the queen of the underworld, although it is true one city, Cuthah, regarded him as its patron. In this world it was the city- or family-god who would help you in your daily life; in the next, unless some powerful god who could raise the dead restored you to life, you must needs depend on your children and descendants to give you your food after death, for no one else would tend you or provide you with comfort and it was not the province of a god to help you. There was no Heaven, or Valhalla, or Happy Hunting Grounds in the Semitic or Sumerian beliefs; no relation with the high gods, to see them face to face (cf. Num. xiv, 14); man was buried in the earth and in some mysterious way his spirit would live amid dust and mud in a ghostly town of seven walls, each with its gate, under the earth. If he was not buried, so much the worse for him and other human beings, for he must prowl about the sewers and gutters for food, and malignantly attack wayfarers to make them feed him (see p. 549). The gods were not concerned with him; when an offering is dedicated to the gods, it is always for the life and good health of the worshipper, not with any view to a future state. Dungi, in his hymn to Enlil and Ninlil, prays for years of plenty, not for a heavenly abode.

The temple, then, with its statue representing the god, stood for the outward sign of human relations with the divine powers. It was a great state-institution to which the king, as head of the state, devoted his labours, and not infrequently, also, dedicated his daughters. Disestablishment was not one of the bogies to be

feared or desired by the priestly mind; and we have no knowledge of heresies which might reduce the temple-offerings and threaten a diminution of the ecclesiastical shadow. The cult of the gods in a land of extreme heat, great floods, cold wind-blasts and tremendous storms, where nature shows little of her more beneficent side, was ingrained in the people; if these beings must be placated by offerings to lend an ear to the tribulations of the city or the private woes of worshippers, by all means let us bring in our tithes, our cattle and goats, that we may be thus aided. When the foe sweeps down on our towns and we cower and tremble behind the solid walls of brick, it will be well to jog their memories, lest even their temples be looted like the houses of the lowest of us. There are many psalms extant, as has already been shown, telling of the chants and genuflexions, the rites and ceremonies, which were performed in the temples, when terror had smitten the rich priesthood and their adherents.

The library of the great king of Assyria has provided a poetical description of Erech, when the foe ringed it about for three years, and despite all its piety in the past towards its goddess, Ishtar paid no heed to its appeal:

The boatman sank his craft in the river, and, bitterly weeping
 [What] will become of me? (cried); [while she who so]ld wine in the city
 Shattered her amphora; asses their foals [denied] (and) the buffaloës
 Hated their calves, the people like cattle lowed, (while) the maidens
 Mourned like doves. The gods turned to flies in Erech the strong-walled
 Swarming in alley-ways; (while) the winged bull(s) turned to mice, thus
 escaping¹

Out by the gutters (?); for three years the foe sat down before Erech,
 Locked were the gates, and were set barricades, while Ishtar stood heedless,
 (Callous) of the enemy, so that Bel speaking, cried unto Ishtar,
 The Queen. . . .

The feeling of the poet is that the guardian goddess of Erech did nothing to help her worshippers.

But besides the services for his public benefits, the private individual's prayers were heard. Gilgamesh, in his expectation of dangers on his long journey, comforts himself by saying that if he meets with lions he will lift up his face to the moon-god in prayer. Less mythical people, down to a late period, also besought the prayers of others when they were travelling in far lands. A letter from a man Iddina-apli to his lady, Kudashu, written about the sixth-fifth century B.C., tells her of his journey: 'For my own part, I am well, by the grace of the gods, as also are all those who

¹ Lit. 'the winged bull of Erech the strong-walled.'

are with me. . . . I have been travelling to the land of Paniragana (?) since the month Siwān; pray (therefore) to Bel and Belit on my behalf.' Another about the same date writes to his wife: 'Be not remiss in the housework, but be careful: pray to the gods on my behalf, and speedily let me have news of thee by the hands of some traveller.' The gods would thus be as responsive to prayers offered by the individual as by the state. Ea was not alone in his thought for his *protégé*, Uta-napishtim, when he warned him of the flood to come.

The temple stood on the main city-mound, frequently, in Sumerian times, in the north-west area. The stranger who entered the town would have no difficulty in recognizing the tower of the principal fane, rising high over the flat-roofed houses and even above the palace. It was an immense mass, often in stages, square, and with a stairway up the outside. The core was of adobe, the facing a veneer of burnt brick; it raised its head far above the desert-surface, a landmark in the waste, and a pinnacle from which the watchers in peace could mark the exact phases of the moon as he rose from the level circle of the earth, and his correspondence with the sun that thereby they might decide the length of the month, and in war the sentinels could descry the masses of men crawling towards them at eye-range.

Close to the temple-tower was built the temple itself. Like all buildings in the east, temples have at least one main court (often with a well) round which are the chambers, for a court is an essential for ventilation and shade in a hot country. Little more than mere ground-plans now, marked out by the ruined walls, in their pristine glory they must have presented an imposing appearance, their solid towered walls reflecting the fierce sunlight or offering kindly shade. Within were the sacred shrines, the holy of holies, and near were the living rooms for the priesthood, and cells for the numerous pilgrims who visited the temple.

Liturgical services originated among the Sumerians (see p. 443). To the temple were attached many musicians and singers, who formed choirs to play on lyres, drums, tambourines, reed-pipes, cymbals and perhaps bag-pipes, and chant in unison. There runs a persistent melancholy note through the psalms and liturgies: now it would be the annual mourning for Tammuz, sought by his bride Innini, when the grass had withered from the earth and the flower had faded; now for a ravished statue of a god carried off in some raid. Babylonia is a land not of laughter but of gloom and of serious meditation; every evil demon which can attack man lives there, the sun scorches and kills, the frost bites, the thunder-

storms are terrible in their assault, and flies, mosquitoes and scorpions add to the trials of man.

The temple was the great monetary centre or bank of the community. It was the temple which attracted foreign invaders by its coffers of gold and silver; and in times of emergency they were open to the king of the land, of Palestine, as of Babylonia; Asa, Ahaz and Hezekiah of Judah were all indebted to the temple treasury during their lifetime. In the period of the 1st Dynasty the Babylonian temple was of high political and religious importance. It was ready to lend money or arrange loans in seed to prospective cultivators. A man in the 1st Dynasty period records his loan of $5\frac{1}{2}$ shekels from the god Shamash in Sippar, agreeing to pay it back at harvest with interest. Another, borrowing ten *gur* of grain from a priestess of Shamash, promises to pay at the rate of 1 *pi*, 40 *ka* for each *gur* at harvest time.

From Drehem, the great cattle-centre for the temple of Enlil at Nippur, have come numerous accounts of temple gifts, made during the latter period of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur. Cattle and sheep were driven across to Nippur for the different feast-days, and careful receipts kept; the very temple-dogs are shown to have received their barley-porridge and milk. The temples possessed large properties in land, and amassed riches in three ways: by tolls or dues, by revenues from the lease of property, and by income from cattle-breeding. It would appear that cities and towns were assessed and paid taxes to the temples according to their capacity; and, as usual, the collectors or others managed to absorb some of these during their duties. Hammurabi was wide awake to this peculation, and his spies were active. 'Sheb-Sin, the scribe of the merchants,' says the king to Sin-idinam, 'hath reported to me saying, Enubi-Marduk hath laid hands on the moneys for the temple of Bit-il-kittim (probably a name for the temple of the sun-god), which are due from the city of Dur-gurgurri and the Tigris district; and that Gimil-Marduk hath laid hands on the moneys for the temple of Bit-il-kittim, which are due from the city of Rakhabu and from the region round about that city, and he hath not [paid] the full amount. But the palace hath exacted the full sum from me.' Dur-gurgurri was the city of the metal-workers, probably Tell Sifr; Rakhabu was near Larsa. Enubi-Marduk was a man of position with at least one patesi under him, but he is in danger of being put in ward, for a peremptory letter from the king to Sin-idinam demands his presence: 'I wrote unto thee, bidding thee send Enubi-Marduk into my presence. Wherefore, then, hast thou not sent him? When thou shalt behold

this tablet, thou shalt send Enubi-Marduk to my presence.... Look to it that he travel day and night, and that he arrive speedily.'

The staff of a temple naturally varied with its size, but with an eminently practical people, like the Babylonians, it would include all the attendants necessary for the temporal welfare of the priests and their families. On a document of Hammurabi's time we find mentioned among the staff, doubtless of a temple, a priest, three brewers, two musicians, one boatman and one shepherd. A list of salaries in the temple of Tashmitum, the wife of Nabu, doubtless in Babylon, drawn up in the reign of Ammi-ditana, shows that there were three main classes attached to the temple; the first, two priests (one of Marduk) and their families and the female secretary, each receiving twenty-four *ka* of grain for a period of time; the second, minor officials and their families, each receiving twelve *ka*; and finally the lower officials and servants, such as the fisherman, whose salaries vary down to as low as three *ka*.

In the great temple of Shamash, the sun-god, at Sippar, the number of priests was of course larger than those of a minor shrine like that of Tashmitum, and there were also priestesses. Among the witnesses to a deed in Sin-muballit's time are two, or perhaps three, Shamash-priests, and one priestess. Among the lower orders we find in the 1st Dynasty contracts the *pashishu* (the 'anointing-priest'), the temple superintendent (*Pa-E*), the brewer, the porter, the servant who cleans the court, and the *purshumu* for both the temple of Martu and the temple of Ku-su. The office of 'anointing-priest' was not without its perquisites, for it was regarded as sufficiently lucrative to be sold. Another class of priest was the *zammuru*, or 'chanter,' probably not of a high order, for we find on a tablet of Hammurabi's period the mention of two 'anointing-priests' and four 'chanters.' They presumably corresponded to the choir; and modern experience suggests that they must have sung most unpleasantly and continuously through their noses, something in the manner of a bag-pipe.

The seers (*barū*), who must have been attached to the temples, belonged to an important class. Ammi-ditana writes to three officers a long letter about corn for the city of Shagga and ends with instructions for the *barūti* seers: 'And let the seers who are in (your) presence divine the future (and) then do thou send this corn to Shagga with favourable omens.' Their office was not so sacrosanct that they could avoid arrest; Hammurabi never left that in doubt as his letters show. In the ritual texts copied at a later period (seventh century), doubtless from much earlier

originals, a special *barû*, known as the 'king's seer,' is mentioned. The seers were connected with, or even perhaps in some measure under, the *rabi-zikatum*, a letter in one case being addressed to him and the seers 'dwelling in Sippar-Yakhrurum' by Ammi-aduga. Properly the *rabi-zikatim* is a president of a council, a position often held by the *rabianu*. Here may be added professional scribes or interpreters who, as a class, appear to have sprung up about this period, called 'Amurru-secretaries.' They were probably used as interpreters for the language of the western Semites.

Besides the servants more nearly attached to the shrine there were the shepherds of the flocks and herds belonging to the temple. The number was large, for we find Hammurabi summoning through Sin-idinnam forty-seven shepherds by name to appear before him to render an account of their stewardship. At this period the shepherd had to give a receipt for sheep, ewes, ewe-lambs, new-born lambs, etc., and if he should lose any, he had, like Jacob, to bear the loss of it (Gen. xxxi, 39).

The priestesses and temple women form several distinct and interesting classes. The *entu*, or 'bride of the god,' was, as the name (*Nin-An*) implies, of the highest caste in the land. Kutur-Mabuk dedicated his daughter En-an-e-ul, sister of Rim-Sin, as *entu* to the temple in Ur; so also, a long time after, Nabonidus, ever ready to maintain old traditions, did the same with his daughter, and doubtless they both ranked as high-priestesses. When Annabu, the daughter of Ammi-zaduga, was inaugurated into her new position in the temple of Ishtar of Babylon (whether by initiation or promotion) there was no little ceremony, although it cannot be said that the offering of four lambs on this occasion showed too generous a bounty. In the Code (cx) it is laid down that no *naṭitu* or *entu* who is not living in the *gagum* ('cloister') shall open a wine shop or enter one, under penalty of being burned alive. In other words, both had to maintain the prestige of their class. It is not certain that the *entu* married; her name implies that she was a divine bride, a wife to the patron god of the city, and the Code lays down that a false accusation against her chastity is on a par with a similar accusation against the wife of an *amelu*. But in this clause (cxxvii) there is no mention of the *Sal-Me*, and this throws some light on the latter. There appears to be great probability that the mother of Sargon, in the Babylonian legend, who is described as *enitu* (= *entu*?), was a *Nin-An* ('divine bride'); Sargon 'knew not his father,' which is in keeping at any rate with the matrimonial status of the *Sal-Me*.

We know more of the *najitu* (*Sal-Me*) than of the *entu*, and with the former must probably be connected the simple *Sal* used to express 'priestess.' We find very few instances of *Nin-An*, but several of the *Sal-Me*; and princesses were included in the classes *Nin-An* and *Sal*. There seem to have been many *Sal-Me* priestesses: two of Marduk are mentioned on the same tablet, and five priestesses of Shamash on another of the date of Hammurabi. They constantly carry on business in the contract tablets, and moreover the 'cloister,' *gagum*, was capable of holding several at one time.

But what is indicative of their functions is, first, that throughout the contract literature, although the *Sal-Me* have children, these children are never ascribed to a father in the ordinary way; where the child of a *Sal-Me* is mentioned, the mother's name only is given. Moreover, a father in dedicating his daughter to the temple (whether *Nin-An*, *Sal-Me* or *zikrum*) gave her a dowry (CLXXVIII sq.). These two facts show at once that Iltani, the daughter of Abeshu', who was a *Sal Shamash*, 'a woman of Shamash,' was there in the temple in order to represent the god's harem. This throws a light on the 'wife of the god' (*Nin-An*); that just as men have one chief wife and may have other inferior wives and concubines, so also may their gods (cf. the case of Yahweh at Elephantine, p. 204 above). The *Nin-An* rarely occurs in the contract tablets and the probability is that there was only one to each temple and that she was the chief wife of the god. Although we do not find direct evidence that she bore children, surely as the chief wife of the god it is still more probable than in the case of the *Sal-Me* that she should bear a child of whom the god was the putative father. That is how demi-gods are born; and that is probably what Sargon claimed (p. 403). The *Nin-An* is the lawful wife of the god, and as such takes her place along with the lawful wife in CXXVII; and stress should be laid on the fact that the Code does not take notice of the finger of scorn pointed at the concubine or slave-girl, either of god or man.

A *Sal-Me* priestess might marry a man, but, curiously enough, she was not expected to bear him children, but was supposed to give a maid to her husband for that purpose. All this is laid down in CXLIV-VII of the Code; if a man marry a priestess and she grants him a maid who bears him children, then he is not allowed a concubine; if she does not, then he may take a concubine. This shows that the *Sal-Me* is not really mated to man, and again bears out the contention that the children were nominally the god's family. If the maid given to the man bears children and becomes

overbearing towards her mistress, then she may be sold as a slave. The parallel of Hagar (Gen. xvi) has often been adduced in this instance.

We are told the dowry of a priestess of Marduk who married the son of a priest of Ishtar: two maids, six gold shekels for earrings, one shekel of gold for her nose-ring, and other ornaments and various clothes; one ox, two cows, thirty sheep; two grindstones, a bed and five chairs, and so on. Priestesses had great scope and capacity for trade. They were very rich, owning houses and lands, in which they trafficked both with the outer world and their own cloistered sisters, and the contract literature is full of their negotiations. The *Sal-Me* priestess of Shamash, as a rule, lived in the *gagum*, or convent, which Scheil actually discovered near the Temple of the Sun at Sippar, consisting of pretty little private houses. Similarly the *entu* (*Nin-An*) lived in a section of the Ur temple called E-gipar, which dates back at least to Bur-Sin of Ur.

The class of the *zikru* or temple-harlot is more difficult. In the Code we find her mentioned after the *entu* and the *naṭitu* (*Sal-Me*); but the *zikru*, in contrast to the other classes, is not mentioned in religious literature. There is no bar to her having children. Another word for the sacred harlot is *zermashitu*. She was of a class superior to the *kadishitu*, as is seen from a tablet of Ammi-ditana's reign, whereon one Liwir-Ishtar, who marries Warad-Shamash, is both a priestess of Marduk and a *zermashitu*. There was no objection to a man marrying a *zermashitu*, and indeed in Ammi-ditana's time *Zermashitu* is a proper name. But there is no such honour extended to the profession of *kadishitu*, which is perfectly clear. A contract of Hammurabi's time describes certain property in Sippar as 'near the house of the daughter of Idin-Sin, the *zermashitu*, near the temple of Eshkharra, facing the town-square.' That the lady owned the house signifies nothing; and we should certainly not be justified in supposing for this reason that she was carrying on a prostitute's trade then, for it was quite usual for women to own houses. The position of the house, however, allows us to consider that she was well-to-do. A homily on behaviour describes three classes of these women: 'Wed not a *kharimtu*—her husband is the wind; (nor) an *Ishtaritu*, who is named for a god; (nor) a *zermashitu* whose... (*Ki-Kal*) are many; she will not lift thee up in thy trouble.'

The *kadishitu* is different, and there is no record of her marriage. Her name implies 'the sacred woman,' but the meaning of the word is ambiguous (see p. 199). It is the same as the *kēdēshāh* of

Deuteronomy xxiii, 17 (18); there is no doubt how she earns her living from a deed of adoption of the time of Rim-Sin. Shalurtum adopts Awirtum the daughter of Khupatum, paying $1\frac{2}{3}$ shekels for her upbringing. Awirtum is to be made into a hierodule (*kadishu*) to support her new mother, Shalurtum. If this girl should repudiate her new mother she can be sold; if Shalurtum repudiates Awirtum, she is to pay ten shekels of silver.

It was the custom among Babylonian ladies, and even poor women, to give out their babes to be suckled by the *kadishu*-class of temple-women. In Hammurabi's time Zukhuntum, the wife of Anum-kinum, gave her child to the *kadishu* Iltani to suckle, but she was unable to provide Iltani's fee for suckling the child for three years. For this reason Zukhuntum said: 'Take the child, it shall be thine.' Iltani has then to pay three shekels of silver to Zukhuntum. There is another case of a mother delivering over her little daughter to such a hierodule in the time of Samsu-iluna: 'Yabliyatum has surrendered Alanitum, her daughter, to Zamidum, the hierodule (*kadishu* or *Ishtaritu*) of the god Adad, the daughter of Ashkur(?) - Adad, as her daughter. Pay for suckling for three years Yabliyatum, her mother has received. For ever. If Alanitum says to her mother Zamidum "Thou art not my mother," they shall mark her and sell her.' But the *kadishu* was not necessarily the only class of foster-mothers, for we find a priestess of Shamash giving her son as foster-child to a married couple. Here again no father's name is mentioned.

At the same time, although there appears to be no question that the *zermashitu* and *kadishu* were sacred harlots, a distinction is drawn between them and the *kizrēti*, the *shamkhāti* and *kharimāti* of the worship of Ishtar at Erech, which are names applied to the licentious ministrants of this goddess. They appear to be different in some way from the *kadishu* and *zermashitu*, but how cannot exactly be said. The temple-girls of Ishtar at Erech are thus described in the Legend of Girra:

Of Erech, home of Anu and of Ishtar,
The town of harlots, strumpets and hetaerae,
Whose (hire) men pay Ishtar, and they yield their hands.

It refers to the licentious worship of the goddess of love, such as the Greek writers have described. The words used are entirely different from the *zermashitu* and *kadishu* of the Code and contracts. In the Legend of Gilgamesh one of the *shamkhāti* is selected by the hunter from the temple of Erech to seduce Engidu. Here there is no religious background, and subsequently the woman

cleaves to him, at any rate so far as to take Engidu back to her city, where we lose sight of her.

VI. ORDINARY LIFE, DEATH, LITERATURE

Turning to another side of Babylonian life we may begin with the army, although at this period little of it is known. We have few pictorial records of troops such as are to be found in profusion in the palace-sculptures of the later Assyrian kings, or even on the reliefs of the earlier Sumerian rulers; nor are the references to details in the texts common. The 'levy' (*ridū*) represented the method by which men were obtained for the army (p. 514). In Samsu-iluna's time a case is recorded of one Anatum, a *Ka-Bar*, son of Kanishitum, 'who to... of the soldiers had been given,' and who is given back by the king's exercise of his prerogative to two men as *Ka-Bar*. Throughout the yearly datings of the Semitic kings of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon of this time we find infinitely more attention paid to the worship of the gods than to the army. The consecration of a high-priest is recorded in them, but never the promotion of a general, and continually temple-gifts are mentioned, but never anything which shows that the king took an interest in providing his troops with weapons. One of Hammurabi's letters does, however, speak of the despatch of troops, '240 men of the King's guard,' together with 'the troops of Ibni-Martu'; another orders the sending of outfits (clothes and headbands), oil, etc., 'for the men under the command of Imgur-Enlil and Adad-irshu.' Yet another to Sin-idinam instructs him to take ninety men from the troops round about Ur and embark them on a ship of seventy-five *gur* burthen. There is an interesting point about those troops of Ur: they would seem to have retained their old weapon, the bow, even in Sumerian times (which they certainly had in the Elamitic period), for in the twenty-eighth year of Dungi the men of Ur were enrolled as long-bow archers. Barbed stone arrowheads were actually found by the present writer at Eridu. In Hammurabi's time the weapons included axes and spears.

Corn-rations were issued, but whether they reached the men as flour, or whether they were expected to crush the corn themselves, we do not know. A ration receipt is extant, dated in the reign of Zabium, for 300 *gur* of corn as the levied contribution 'for the maintenance of troops (*ridū*) under the orders of Kuksimut,' who from his name appears to be an Elamite—a poignant example of a mercenary officer. But the levy, of course, was for

public works as well as the army. In Sin-muballit's time we hear of five-sixths of a mana of silver, part of one mana of silver, which was paid by Imlik-Sin for 'fifty hired men who were engaged for the King's Road.' Hammurabi sends Gimillum to Larsa with a letter to Sin-idinnam with instructions that he is to take over the workmen of Larsa and set them to work under the overseer who is going with him. The king elsewhere writes to Sin-idinnam that he is sending him three hundred and sixty labourers, one hundred and eighty of whom are to serve with the Larsa workmen, and the same number with the men of Rakhabu.

Canals, of course, demand persistent care, and it is for these that the *corvée* was chiefly wanted. These are made so that the water is above the surrounding level and irrigation machines are not necessary. Every canal bears in its waters the alluvial mud from the Euphrates in flood, and thus brings about its own destruction; in time it becomes cheaper to dig a new canal than to clear out this old one. Sin-idinnam was ordered by his king to call out the men who held land on the banks of the Damanum Canal near Larsa in order to clear out the channel within the month. He was again commanded to clear out one of the Erech canals which was so blocked 'that (boats) cannot enter the city'; the men at his disposal were to finish the work within three days. Again, a letter was written by Apil-iluka to 'my lord,' probably Hammurabi, concerning the clearing of the Ningirsu-Khegallu Canal. Since its channel had become choked Hammurabi had given orders for it to be re-dug, but owing to a dispute with the village of Khalbi, situated on its bank, the work was not carried out. Sin-idinnam (evidently here the well-known official of Larsa) had refused to listen to Apil-iluka's complaints, and the latter therefore protests directly to Hammurabi.

The crops, which appear to have been mainly spelt and barley, were as a rule a private speculation. In primitive times the ground was broken with stone hoes; the earliest representation of the plough which we have is on a seal of the fourteenth century, of the time of Nazi-Maruttash. Here a yoke of humped oxen draws a primitive plough, which one man guides, a second man drives the oxen, and the third has the bag of grain which he is sowing through a tube in the plough. From a contract of the same period we learn of an accident which once stopped the sowing of a field: 'Ikisha-Enlil, the son of Khashma-Kharba, received from Belanu, the son of Ibba-amel-uballit an ox for ploughing: it broke its leg whereupon Belanu thus spake to Ikisha-Enlil, "Bring (me) (another) ox that I may plant (my) field, (for) thou shalt not

make me miss my sowing." Iškisha-Enlil thus spake to Belanu, "I will give thee an ox in the month Ab." (But) Iškisha-Enlil did not give the ox to Belanu in Ab: therefore Iškisha-Enlil shall make good the crop of the field to Belanu.' It was customary then, as at the present time, to allow sheep to nibble the early shoots of green corn, but the Code lays down that it must be done by arrangement with the owner of the crops (lviii sq.).

The next operation was the reaping. Scheil says that in 2894 when he left Sippar on the 20th of April not an ear of corn had been harvested, but that at Bartelle (near Mosul) on the 13th of May it had already been reaped. The barley ripens a little later. When L. W. King and the present writer left Mosul for Bisitun in April, 1904, the fields had not been touched and were still green; when we returned in June the crops had been garnered and the sledges were breaking up the straw for horse-fodder. At Nasriyeh the crops were growing high towards the end of March, 1918. In very early times in the south, especially at Eridu, men, women and children turned out to reap the crops with sickles made of baked clay. Doubtless also flint sickles were used, several sharp flakes being arranged in a haft to form one continuous edge; then followed the use of copper, but it was probably too valuable to be in general use for reaping hooks, although an example from Elam does exist.

The value of corn varied. A shekel in Manishtusu's time (c. 2800 B.C.) would buy one *gur*, twice as much under Shamshi-Adad II (c. 1880-60), and three times as much under Sin-gashid (c. 2000). The harvest, of course, attracted labourers from afar, and the farmer would hire extra hands for garnering his crop. As a rule the man was hired for the harvest, and was free directly afterwards; but his term might be reckoned at one month, half-a-year, or even a whole year. Reapers reckoned to earn anything from half-a-shekel to two shekels, but very frequently the wages were paid in corn. The master of a slave would let out his man for hire, or even parents their children, the wages then being paid to the master or parents. In the time of Hammurabi, for instance, we find a slave-girl hired out for harvest: 'Taraitum the daughter of Iza-iluma, has hired a slave-girl, Aya-Lamazi, from Nish-ini-shu the *Sal* (priestess) of the sun, the daughter of Idin-Dagan, for one month and three days, the time of the harvest.' In this case the hirer promises to pay for her hire, one *gur* of corn, in the gate of the *gagum*-cloister, which rather points to it being similar to a convent into which strangers were not admitted.

The amount of corn necessary for a man in full work appears

to have been $2\frac{2}{3}$ *ka* daily, judging by the hire paid by Lu-Ninsianna for the man Idin-Ishtar. The daily feed of barley for domestic animals was reckoned during the Kassite period on the following scale: horse, 5 *ka* (a modern Anatolian horse eats about fourteen double handfuls of barley and a quarter of a sack of chopped straw); ox, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ka*; dove (doubtless in the temple of Ishtar), $\frac{1}{15}$ *ka*; fowl, $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{15}$ *ka*. We may therefore take it that a man was allowed about half as much grain as a horse. In order to make the daily bread the corn was first pounded between two stones, the lower worn concave from much rubbing, about a foot in length and half as much in breadth, and the upper a rounded stone held in the hand. The process of bread making appears to be described in the Epic of Gilgamesh, when Uta-napishtim's wife sends the hero away with a parting viaticum:

First was collected his meal, next ground, (and then) thirdly 'twas moistened,
Fourthly she kneaded its dough, and fifthly she added its leaven,
Sixthly 'twas cooked.

The bread ovens, found by Dr H. R. Hall in his excavations at Muḳayyar, probably belonged to this period. They appear to be of the same kind as those in use in Basrah at the present day. These consist of a small dome of bricks heated from within by a wood fire, and when the interior is thoroughly hot the dough is thrown as a flat pancake through a hole against the inside wall to which it adheres while it is baking. Many of the people, especially the nomads, all in fact who baked bread for themselves without an oven, ate the *akal tumri* or 'bread of the ashes,' just as the bedouins cook it themselves in the desert to this day. Dates mixed with meal were an ancient food in this country; *muttakū*, a sweet food of sesame (as well as spelt), with which we may compare the modern sweetmeat of sesame, *halawa*, to be bought in Mesopotamia, appears in neo-Babylonian times. Gilgamesh, when on his travels, carried with him *upuntu*, which must be flour such as a bedouin would take with him on a journey where no quern or millstone was available.

The next important food was the date (see p. 361). As early as 2800 B.C. Manishtusu offered a special kind to his gods, and large date-orchards must therefore have existed. The trees to-day are planted in groves at five yards interval, and live for seventy years. Artificial fertilization was practised at an early time, just as it is to-day, although how old a custom it is is uncertain; Scheil infers from a tablet of Gimil-Sin's time that it goes back to this date. It is portrayed on the sculptures of Ashur-naṣir-pal (ninth

century B.C.), where two divine figures are frequently shown fructifying a conventional palm with the male spathe, and by a metathesis of ideas such a figure stands in the same attitude over the king himself. Strabo tells how the inhabitants made from dates a kind of bread, wine, vinegar, honey and cakes, while the stones were used for charcoal, or for pounding up with cattle fodder. The 'honey' is of course the Arab *dibs*, which may be seen in the making near Basrah, in a large trough built of mud, and plastered also with mud, about 10 by 8 feet in area, with walls 3 feet high from the ground and 1 foot thick with a little flight of steps leading up at one corner outside. The floor slopes down towards an orifice in the wall and in this floor are seven grooves also leading to this opening. The dates are put into this receptacle after picking in late September or early October, and by the second week in October the *dibs*-treacle will be seen to begin to ooze through the orifice into a vessel. By the third or fourth week the trough has been emptied, but still will smell of date-juice. *Dibs* itself is merely the modern form of a word familiar in both Hebrew (*dēbhash*) and Assyrian (*dishpu*).

The species of dates were numerous, and the syllabaries mention the special kinds, Dilmunite, Maganite, Melukkhite, etc.; the merchants to-day can give the traveller a list of forty-seven kinds, grown for the most part in the Baghdad or Basrah vilayets. The fruit hangs green on the palm in July, and about the third week of that month turns yellow; by the end of August some may be seen already picked and spread out on roofs to ripen prematurely, but the usual time for stripping the trees is part of September and October, and most of the harvest is finished by the first week of the latter month. During the 1st Dynasty the month of Markheswan (October-November) was the period fixed to pay a quantity of dates. The trimming of the trees by cutting off the lower branches is nowadays carried on at the same time as or a little before the harvest, and these fronds are then bound up into bundles by a *bened* (or *bandu*), a pliant supple shoot cut from the base of the palm. The branches are allowed to season and are used like osiers, for making the frails for carrying grapes, and for bedsteads; the thick triangular bases of the branches (called *karab*) are dried and used for fuel. Like the harvesters in ancient Babylonia, date-pickers are attracted in September from the neighbouring villages to Basrah, where they camp in the orchards.

During the Great War a date-palm was worth roughly an English pound, while in Hammurabi's time the indemnification

for cutting one down was half-a-mana of silver. The less useful trees are cut down to use for rafters and single-log bridges across canals. The very top of the palm-trunk can be cut into slices and eaten, having the crisp consistency of celery.

• Of other forms of diet the countless sacrifices at the temple altars show that flesh was easily obtainable. Fish was doubtless cheaper than meat; there is a delightful little picture, of an early date, of Gilgamesh returning home in triumph carrying a fish and a tortoise, such as would be *tabu* at the present day. Beer of many kinds was made from corn, and a wine or arrack from dates; the gods themselves, when their hearts were overcome with the terror of Tiamat, did not disdain to cheer themselves with wine, so that their spirits were exalted.

Wool from the flocks was a source of revenue, both for the temple and the palace. Apil-ilishu writes to his son: 'now I send Ili-erish to thee: give (him) twenty manas of good wool as my temple-gift.' Five letters of the time of Ammi-zaduga announce that a sheep-shearing will take place in the Bit-akitim, the time of the year being the month Shebat or early Adar, *i.e.* in the early spring. The value of wool varied. In the time of Manishtusu four manas were worth one shekel, and later, under Sin-gashid, three times the amount was obtainable for that sum; under Shamshi-Adad II a shekel would buy as much as fifteen manas.

Coinage, of course, did not exist and the method of payment was by manas and shekels of silver weighed out. Gold was used for temple-offerings and in payment, but was much rarer in business than silver, which doubtless came from the mines of Bulgar Maden in Asia Minor. Copper was found in considerable quantities in Elam, whence doubtless it was exported to Mesopotamia. The industry of copper working was carried on, particularly at Umma, about the time of Dungi and Bur-Sin, although this can hardly have been the place where a knowledge of metallurgy developed. Dur-gurgurri, near Larsa, was another town where the clangour of coppersmiths at work could be heard continually. The relative value of the three metals appears to show that gold decreased in value by about one-third between the Agade-period and Hammurabi. We find the following ratios:

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|---|------------|---|----------------------|
| Agade period | Gold 1920 | : | Silver 240 | : | Copper 1 |
| Hammurabi | Gold 1440 | : | Silver 240 | : | |
| Sin-gashid | | | Silver 240 | : | Copper $\frac{2}{3}$ |

Offerings in copper were, of course, made to the temples. Zarik, patesi of Susa, sent a wonderful cow of copper inlaid with silver

to Ur, in the time of Bur-Sin or Gimil-Sin. Two-thirds of a mana was paid in the fourth year of Hammurabi for the restoration of a copper vessel for the temple of Shamash.

A private letter of the period of the 1st Dynasty shows that the inevitable 'copper pot' was in use. It may be either the water-pot which the women still carry on their shoulders for fetching water, or else one for cooking: 'To Baba say: thus Munawirum. May Shamash and Marduk keep thee in good health for ever. I am sending Lumur-sha-Marduk; give (him) a copper pot. I am sending thee the money for the copper pot. I am out of health: since thou lovest me truly, send the copper pot.' It is an indication that a copper bazaar existed only in the towns, as of course happens to this day. Lead came probably also from the mines in Anatolia; a Cappadocian tablet of the end of the third millennium mentions as much as fifteen manas.

The question of the introduction of bronze is a difficult one, as analysis of objects found has not always been carried out, and objects have been loosely called 'copper' or 'bronze' according to fancy. Certainly the objects found by the present writer at Eridu and by Dr Hall at Obeid all point to a use of copper without alloy even in late Sumerian times (see also pp. 291, 585 *sq.*).

The difficulty of translation prevents our giving a full inventory of a good middle-class household at this period. Duluktu, the daughter of Ashkudu and Taram-Sagil, is given a well-furnished house with garden, and also clothes for herself, so that she may set up on her own account. Probably we have here a dowry: the lady further receives a slave-girl as waiting maid, a shekel's weight of gold for her wrist-bangle or finger-rings, and another shekel for her ear-rings; ten head-bands (it is a hot country and she probably used much oil on her hair), two laptasi-dresses (or cloths), two fringed skirts (?), and a leather girdle (?), two grinding stones, another girdle (?), four copper spoons (?), one shade (parasol?), seven chairs and so on. A bed is also mentioned in other inventories.

The pottery of the Sumerians was plain and simple; they never continued the beautiful designs painted in black, either geometric or decorative, which the Elamites knew so well how to produce. Seals show that they had the large *hubb* or water-pot on a stand, which allowed the water to filter through to a smaller pot, and such would be in every household. Water-pots were of cream-coloured turned or unturned clay, made frequently with a spout at the shoulder; plates and bowls were made of the same plain material, but sometimes turned, in the case of cups, to a most

delicate thinness. Of Semitic pottery of this period we can say little, but probably it was similar to that of the Sumerians, as there would be little need to change. At this period there is no doubt that little clay figures of the mother goddess were in common use, and in these innumerable models, which are so frequent, we must see the equivalent of the modern Arab woman's piece of rag hung up near a saint's tomb, the prayer for a child. On the art, see further, pp. 577 *sqq.*

Still more than the contract tablets the private letters give us the daily life of the people. One, from a son apparently away from home, seems to refer to some family bickering, his mother having made home unpleasant for him: 'To Beya speak: thus Ibni-Martu, thy son. May Shamash and Marduk give thee life for my sake. Thou hast grieved me and brought great distress of mind on my head. Since I may not return to the company of my brothers, I will no (longer) call myself by the name of my father's house. Thou hast done wrong (*or* thou hast done [it] me) seeing that the father (whom) I have I may not [see again?]. Now I am [sending] Birda...unto thee, (and) with him is... (?) that he may bring the cloak (and) come (back again). If thou art not willing (to send) the cloak, send (me) the money which I have despatched to thee for the dress. I sent thee its pattern (*zu-kha-as-sa*, for *su-kha-ar-sha* its diminutive).' The letter ends with a request that the messenger be returned.

Even a love letter from Sippar is extant, dating back to the Ist Dynasty: 'To Bibiya say: thus Gimil-Marduk. May Shamash and Marduk give thee health for ever for my sake. I have sent (to ask) after thy health; let me know how thou art. I have arrived in Babylon, and see thee not; I am very sad. Send news of thy coming, that I may be cheered; in the month of Markheswan thou shalt come. Mayst thou live for ever for my sake.' Evidently it reached the lady Bibiya (whose name is doubtless parent of the oriental *bibi*, 'lady') in Sippar whither it had been sent from Babylon. Now, we have already found Sheb-Sin denouncing one Gimil-Marduk to Hammurabi for appropriating the moneys for temple-dues from the city Rakhabu (p. 534). Only the desire to avoid conclusions drawn from what may be mere coincidences prevents us from connecting the incidents—but did Gimil-Marduk find the lady exacting and expensive?

Finally, the burial customs of this period may be briefly noticed. The Sumerian in burying his dead chose a high place if he could: that is, an old mound if possible, in the same way as does the bedouin of the present day. His word for a grave was

Ki-Makh, 'great earth,' and one of his kings, Eannatum, has left us a picture of the burial of warriors after his battle with Umma. An ox was sacrificed, as was found at Eridu, where the king had made his offering, now fifteen feet below the surface (p. 501). The dead were collected in rows, head to foot, and naked as they lay, covered with a mound of earth. This was about 3000 B.C. At the end of the third millennium (if the burials near the surface at Eridu are really late Sumerian), the dead were buried without coffin and probably unwrapped, with a spouted pot for water placed near them, with one or two rough upturned bowls or goblets. This class of spouted pot was also found at Shuruppak; it is exactly the same as those represented on the old seals. With the advent of the Semites an alteration becomes gradually apparent. Koldewey found at Babylon that the lowest levels of the time of the first Babylonian kings contained bodies lying simply in the earth, or rolled in reed mats, or roughly surrounded by mud bricks. The bodies were always laid out at full length. The present writer found a body buried in the mound of Ur about a foot below the surface, apparently the skeleton of a girl, with a silver-copper ring on each arm and a nose-ring possibly of silver. The body had evidently been huddled up, the total length of the burial was less than two feet; it lay on its left side with the head pointing approximately to the east. Not far from the mouth was a water-pot, and upturned on or near the legs was a basin. There had been some cloth with it, and the whole, pots and all, had been wrapped in a reed mat. Cuneiform tablets were found at a depth of two feet in a 'throw-out' at a stone's throw distance, probably of the period of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur, so that the presumption is that this mat burial was about the same period, and Koldewey's mat burials at Babylon will coincide in date or, not unlikely, may be earlier.

The next later burials at Babylon are similar to those which the present writer found at Tell el-Lahm, double-urn interments, two pottery vessels with mouths joined together lying horizontally. At Tell el-Lahm such burials had included pots and plates of plain wheel-turned ware. Among the graves of this class at Babylon were a few brick-built subterranean chambers with barrel-shaped vaulting, doubtless similar to those found by Taylor at Ur (p. 398 *sq.*). We have to assign these to the period early in the Ist Dynasty or even a little before, rather than later. Similar double-urn burials were found at Nippur and assigned (by Peters) to Hammurabi's period or rather before. So also at Telloh where the careful records of Cros show that these double-

urn burials are subsequent to Bur-Sin, as he found a brick of that king below them.

The next class of interment is entirely different. Koldewey found a different class of burials above the stratum in which these double-urns were contained at 3 metres above his zero line, and he puts them at 'Nebuchadrezzar and earlier,' which, however, seems far too late. Peters, who found the same at Nippur, assigns them to 2000 B.C., and onward to the close of the Persian period. The coffin in this case is a clay sarcophagus rather like a small bath-tub, round at one end and square at the other, the length rarely more than a metre. The present writer found them at Tell el-Lahm above the double-urn burials, and is also inclined to assign them to an earlier date than Koldewey. One at Sippar (1 m. \times .47 cm. \times .50 cm. high) contained a legal document of the date of Hammurabi. There were none of this type actually in the mound at Eridu, although they were to be found on the neighbouring flat. It is worth noticing that an unoccupied mound is the obvious place for burials, for not only does it provide a well-marked cemetery and is itself a funeral monument, but it has also a sacrosanct character. That numerous interments could be made in an ancient mound while it was still inhabited is hardly possible, and this is therefore always a point to consider before deciding the questions either of the date or of burial in the house walls. Cf. further, pp. 377, 381.

In the views about the next world and spirits we may take it that there was little difference in what people believed either under Hammurabi, or later under Ashurbanipal. All the theories about the Hades under the earth and the soul which obtained in the seventh century doubtless held good in the twenty-first century B.C. The dead were buried with food and water so that the descendants might not be plagued with the ghost who would otherwise prowls about the earth seeking to assuage its hunger with any offal, or attacking men so that it might be appeased by offerings. If the body was unburied the spirit roamed as an uneasy ghost, until it was given a resting-place in the earth; similarly a mother who died in child-birth, like the Indian *churel*, came back for her child; many are the ghosts who return. Normally the spirit whose body was duly buried remained in the earth, inhabiting a gloomy abode—'the Land of No Return'—presided over by a goddess, Ereshkigal, the wife of Nergal (see p. 531).

Of the Semitic literature of Hammurabi's period other than business documents unfortunately comparatively little survives, but this little is gradually increasing. For instance, there is the

long poem of Agushaya which not only from its style, but its actual epilogue, is to be referred to Hammurabi's age:

The King who repeateth this song,
(As) proof of thy power, thy glory,
Hammurabi who singeth (?) this song,
So long as he liveth, thy glory.

It is written on a clay tablet in eight columns, in the short lines which the authors of this period affected. The recent identification of the Second Tablet of the Legend of Gilgamesh, in the Nippur Collection in the University of Pennsylvania, dating to the same period approximately, renders it impossible to lay down any hard and fast distinction between the literature of this time and of the later Babylonian empire. Indeed, it is doubtful how much of the great Epics and Legends are Semitic at all, many certainly being mere translations or adaptations from the Sumerian. A fragmentary legend of Gilgamesh, for instance, actually occurs in Sumerian on a Nippur tablet, although it cannot be identified with any known part of the Semitic version. Consequently, we may hope in time to find the earlier versions from which Ashurbanipal's copies were made: to describe his Royal Library at Kuyunjik and its contents would be out of place in the present volume. The immense quantity of 'interlinear' texts (*i.e.* texts written in Sumerian with each line translated into Assyrian) shows how largely the Assyrian king was indebted to the Sumerians for his literature. We may, therefore, defer a fuller description of the Babylonian literature until we reach the Later Babylonian Period. The actual occurrences of early editions (that is, of the Hammurabi period) of the Legends are, as was mentioned above, very rare, and can be more conveniently discussed with the rest of the material which for the most part is written on clay tablets of the first millennium B.C.

The old legends include, first, the great Epic of Gilgamesh, the semi-legendary king of Erech, in twelve tablets, describing his tyrannical rule over Erech which is to be abolished by the divine creature Engidu. In the end Engidu becomes his friend and seeks adventures with him. Then the goddess Ishtar falls in love with Gilgamesh, only to be spurned by him, and the two heroes slay a monstrous bull which her father, Anu, had created for their undoing. Presently Engidu dies, and Gilgamesh, in his terror of dying also, sets forth on a long journey to Uta-napishtim, the Babylonian Noah, to whom the gods had given eternal life: if anyone can advise Gilgamesh it will be he. Ultimately, after many adventures, Gilgamesh reaches the sage, who tells him the

story of the Flood, and recommends him to dive into the sea for a life-giving plant. This he does, but on his journey home a snake snatches it out of his hand, and he is left again to face the common lot. See also pp. 366 *sq.*, 497.

, Next in importance we must place the Seven Tablets of Creation in which the fight of Bel and the Dragon (Tiamat) is related, ending in her death and the subsequent ordering of the cosmos. These are the two chief legends, but there are many others: of Zū, the storm-bird, and how he stole the Tablets of Destiny; of Adapa, a hero of Eridu, who cozened the dwellers in heaven (p. 401); of Etana, who, like Ganymede, was borne up into the sky by an eagle (p. 366). Ishtar, the faithful spouse of Tammuz, descends to the Underworld in search of him, like Orpheus his Eurydice, and Hell, the city of Seven Gates, wherein the dead enter naked, is pictured with no mean pen (cf. p. 461). Almost within the realm of history we might count the story of Girra, the plague-god, with its political import (p. 473); and the curious legend called after the king of Cuthah, with its battles wherein men with birds' bodies and faces take part.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| Abh. | Abhandlungen. |
| Abh. K.M. | Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. |
| A.J.A. | American Journal of Archaeology. |
| A.J.Ph. | American Journal of Philology. |
| A.J.S.L. | American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures. |
| A.S.A.E. | Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte. |
| Ath. Mitt. | Mittheilungen des deutschen arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung. |
| B. z. Ass. | Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. |
| B.C.H. | Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique. |
| B.I.C. | Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire. |
| Bay. S.B. | Sitzungsberichte d. bayerischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften. |
| Berl. S.B. | Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin. |
| Biblica | Biblica. Commentarii editi a Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Rome. |
| B.S.A. | Annual of the British School at Athens. |
| B.S.R. | Papers of the British School at Rome. |
| Bull. d. I. | Bullettino dell' Istituto. |
| C.I.G. | Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum. |
| C.I.L. | Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. |
| C.I.S. | Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. |
| C.J. | Classical Journal. |
| C.Q. | Classical Quarterly. |
| C.R. | Classical Review. |
| C.R. Ac. Inscr. | Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions. |
| D.B. | Dictionary of the Bible (J. Hastings, Edinburgh, 1898). |
| E.Bi. | Encyclopaedia Biblica. |
| E.Brit. | Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ed. XI. |
| E.H.R. | English Historical Review. |
| E.R.E. | Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. |
| Exp. T. | Expository Times. |
| Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. | Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική. |
| F.H.G. | C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum. |
| G.G.A. | Göttingsche Gelehrte Anzeigen. |
| Geogr. Z. | Geographische Zeitschrift. |
| Head H.N. | Head, Historia Numorum, 2nd Ed. 1912. |
| Herm. | Hermes. |
| I.G.F. | Indogermanische Forschungen. |
| J.A. | Journal Asiatique. |
| J.A.O.S. | Journal of the American Oriental Society |
| J.B.S. | Journal of Biblical Studies. |
| J.D.A.I. | Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. |
| J.E.A. | Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. |
| J.H.S. | Journal of Hellenic Studies. |
| J. Man. E.O.S. | Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society. |
| J.R.A.I. | Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. |
| J.R.A.S. | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. |
| J.R.S. | Journal of Roman Studies. |
| J.S.O.R. | Journal of the Society of Oriental Research. |

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Klio | Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte). |
| Liv. A.A. | Liverpool Annals of Archaeology. |
| M.B.B.A. | Monatsbericht der Berliner Akademie. |
| M.D.O.G. | Mittheilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. |
| M.D.P.V. | Mittheilungen des deutschen Palästinavereins. |
| M.V.A.G. | Mittheilungen der vordrasiatischen Gesellschaft. |
| Mon. d. I. | Monumenti Antichi dell' Istituto. |
| N.J. Kl. Alt. | Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum. |
| N.J.P. | Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie. |
| N.S.A. | Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (Atti d. r. Accad. dei Lincei). |
| Num. Chr. | Numismatic Chronicle. |
| Num. Z. | Numismatische Zeitschrift. |
| O.L.Z. | Orientalische Literaturzeitung. |
| P.E.F. | Palestine Exploration Fund. |
| Phil. | Philologus. |
| P.S.B.A. | Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. |
| P.W. | Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. |
| Πρ. | Πρακτικά. |
| Q.S. | Quarterly Statement(s). |
| Rec. Trav. | Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne. |
| Rev. A. | Revue archéologique. |
| Rev. Ass. | Revue d'Assyriologie. |
| Rev. Bib. | Revue biblique internationale. |
| Rev. Eg. | Revue égyptologique. |
| Rev. E.G. | Revue des études grecques. |
| Rev. H. | Revue historique. |
| Rev. N. | Revue numismatique. |
| Rh. Mus. | Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. |
| Riv. Fil. | Rivista di Filologia. |
| Riv. N.O. | Rivista nuova orientale. |
| Röm. Mith. | Mittheilungen des deutschen arch. Inst., Römische Abtheilung. |
| R.V. | Revised Version. |
| R.V. mg. | Revised Version margin. |
| S.B. | Sitzungsberichte. |
| Syria. | Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie. |
| T.S.B.A. | Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. |
| W.Z.K.M. | Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. |
| Wien S.B. | Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien. |
| Wien St. | Wiener Studien. |
| Z.A. | Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. |
| Z. Aeg. | Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde. |
| Z.A.T.W. | Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. |
| Z.D.M.G. | Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. |
| Z.D.P.V. | Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins. |
| Z.E. | Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. |
| Z.G. f. E. | Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde. |
| Z.N. | Zeitschrift für Numismatik. |

TO CHAPTERS XIII, XIV

CHAPTER XIV

THE GOLDEN AGE OF HAMMURABI¹

I. SOURCES

- Harper, R. F. *Code of Hammurabi*. 1904. (Text, transliteration, translation, indexes, etc.)
King, L. W. *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*. 1900.
Scheil, V. *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*. Vol. iv. 1902.
Thureau-Dangin, F. *Lettres de l'Époque de la première Dynastie babylonienne*. Hilprecht Anniv. Volume. Leipzig, 1909.
Ungnad, A. *Babylonian Letters of the Hammurabi Period*. Univ. Penns., vii. Philadelphia, 1915. (Other collections, Leipzig, 1914; Berlin, 1919.)

2. SPECIAL WORKS

- Cook, S. A. *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*. 1903.
Cuq, E. Articles on Jurisdiction in *Rev. Ass.*, 1910, pp. 65 *sqq.*; 1911, pp. 179 *sqq.*
Johns, C. H. W. *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*. Edinburgh, 1904.
——— *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (Schweich Lectures, 1912). 1914. (pp. 65–91; a full survey of the bibliography.)
Kohler, J., F. E. Peiser, and A. Ungnad. *Hammurabi's Gesetze*. Leipzig, 1904.
Lindl, E. *Das Priester- und Beamtentum der altbab. Kontrakte; ein Beitrag zur altbab. Kulturgeschichte*. Paderborn, 1913.
Pelagaud, F. Article on Jurisdiction at the time of the Dynasty of Ur. *Babyloniaca*, iii, pp. 83 *sqq.*
Walther, A. *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen*. Leipzig. *Semit. Studien*, vi, 1917.

¹ For the very large literature on the Code of Hammurabi, see Johns (above).

I. SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE¹

656

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE: c. 5000—c. 3000 B.C.

| B.C. | Egypt | Babylonia, Assyria | Aegean, Cyprus, etc. |
|-------------------|---|--|---|
| 5000 | | <i>Sumerians in Mesopotamia</i> | |
| 4500 | | <i>Semitic dynasty at Kish</i> (? p. 365) | |
| 4241 (or 4238) | <i>Calendar introduced in Lower Egypt.</i> <i>First Sothic Cycle begins</i> (pp. 168, 248) <i>Dual kingdom in existence</i> | | |
| 4000 | <i>Relations between Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia</i> | | <i>Beginning of Bronze Age in Crete, and Early Minoan Period I begins</i> (Early Helladic I begins) |
| 3500 | <i>First Dynasty</i> <i>Age of Narmer</i> (? = Menes) | <i>Third dynasty of Kish</i> (computed at c. 3638 B.C.) <i>Contemporary records begin</i> | |
| 3350 | <i>Second Dynasty</i> (northern) <i>Semitic type of names</i> (p. 274 sq.) | | |
| 3200 | <i>Third Dynasty</i> (southern) <i>Zoser builds 'step-pyramid' of Sakkarah</i> | <i>Dynasty of Akshak</i> (earliest approximately fixed date, 3200 B.C., in Sumerian history) | |
| | <i>Snefru builds pyramids of Dahshur and Medum</i> | | <i>Cedars of Lebanon imported by Egypt</i> |
| 3100 | <i>Fourth Dynasty</i> <i>Age of three Great Pyramids of Gizeh</i> (Cheops, etc.) <i>Copper and wheel-pottery in use</i> | <i>Ur-nina, first known ruler of Lagash</i> (3100 B.C.) <i>Fourth Dynasty of Kish</i> (3089 B.C.) | <i>Early Minoan II begins</i> |
| 3000 | <i>Fifth Dynasty</i> (Heliopolitan usurpers) <i>Prominence of Sun-worship</i> | <i>Eannatum of Lagash overthrows Kish.</i> <i>His Stele of Vultures</i> | |

¹ A few dates are added after 1580 B.C. for the sake of reference

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE: c. 2900—c. 2600 B.C. 657

| | | | |
|-------------------|--|---|--|
| 2900 | Pyramid of Abusir | Urukagina of Lagash (social reformer, p. 387) Rise of Lugal-zaggisi (2897 B.C.), who claims to rule from Mediterranean to Persian Gulf | Copper Age in Cyprus begins |
| 2870 | Dedkere Isesi (2883–2855 B.C.). (Proverbs of Ptah-hotep— <i>according to a Middle Kingdom papyrus</i> , pp. 288, 348) Intercourse with Somaliland and Phoenicia | Sargon, Founder of SEMITIC KINGDOM OF ACAD. Conquests in Syria and (?) Asia Minor | (Troy: First Settlement, see p. 613.) |
| 2800 | Unis (2855–2825 B.C.). Pyramid texts of Sakkarah <i>Sixth Dynasty</i> (2825– B.C.) Pepi I (2795–2742 B.C.) | Naram-Sin defeats Manium of Magan (= Arabia? p. 415 sq.), 2795 B.C. His Stele of Victory | Palestine attacked by Pepi I |
| 2781 (or 2778) | Second Sothic Cycle begins Pepi II (2738–2644 B.C.) Increased trade with Nubia Negro pressure northward | Shargalisharri subdues Amorites, 2737 B.C. (p. 420) War with Gutium Ur-Bau patesi of Lagash | (Chalcolithic age in Thessaly) (Early Helladic II) |
| 2700 | End of OLD KINGDOM First 'Intermediate Period' <i>Seventh to Tenth Dynasties</i> Asiatics invade Egypt (pp. 296, 344) | Inroad of Gutti on Sumer and Akkad Gudea of Lagash Intercourse with Magan, Melukhkha, Mount Amanus, etc. Utukhegal overthrows dynasty of Gutium and founds fifth dynasty of Erech (c. 2524–2474, see p. 434) | Early Minuan III begins |
| 2600 | | | |

| B.C. | Egypt | Babylonia, Assyria | Aegean, Cyprus, etc. |
|------|---|---|--|
| 2500 | | [Ushpia and Kikia (Mitannian?) kings of Assyria] Dynasty of Ur <i>Sumerian Revival</i> , under Ur-Engur (author of Sumerian law code), 2474 B.C., and Dungi (2456 B.C.) Conquest of Elam, Amor, etc. | Cappadocia attached to Empire of Ur (?) |
| 2400 | MIDDLE KINGDOM <i>Eleventh Dynasty</i> (Theban), 2375-2212 B.C. (p. 169 sq.) Bronze Age | Bur-Sin (2398 B.C.) Zariku, king of Assyria, tributary to Sumer Gimil-Sin builds wall of Amor (2387 B.C.) Fall of dynasty of Ur: attacked by Amor and Elam Ishbi-girra, king of Isin (2357 B.C.) Rivalry of Isin and Larsa | (Early Helladic III) |
| 2300 | Nebhapetre (2290-2242 B.C.) | Lipit-ishtar of Isin (2274-2264 B.C.), driven out by Amor (p. 476). Brief Sumerian revival Gungunum of Larsa (2264-2238 B.C.) | <i>Middle Minoan I</i> begins |
| 2200 | <i>Twelfth Dynasty</i> Amenemhet I (2212-2182 B.C.) Renascent of Art Nubia Egyptianized Prominence of god Amon Senusret I (2192-2147 B.C.) | <i>First Dynasty of BABYLON</i> Sumu-abum (2225 B.C.) Sumu-la-ilum (2211-2176 B.C.) Destruction of Kish Elamite invasion | Bronze Age (First Period) in Cyprus begins |

| | | | |
|------|--|--|---|
| | | Conquest of S. Babylonia by the Elamite Kutur-mabuk 'father' of Amor Fall of Larsa (2167 B.C.) Rim-Sin, Elamite ruler of Larsa (2155- 2094 B.C.) Conquers Erech (2134 B.C.) and Isin (2125 B.C.) HAMMURABI (2123-2081 B.C.), retakes Erech and Isin (2117 B.C.); defeats Elam (2094 B.C.) and Rim-Sin; becomes king of Amor; extends his rule over Assyria (2087 B.C.); code (c. 2090 B.C.) Samsu-iluna (2080- B.C.) Decline of Babylonia | Building of Palace of Cnossus begins <i>Middle Minoan II</i> begins (Middle Helladic) (Bronze Age in Thessaly) Presumed age of Abraham (pp. 163-17, 225) |
| 2100 | Senusret II (2118-2099 B.C.) Beni-Hasan tombs (p. 228) Senusret III (2099-2061 B.C.) War in Palestine | | |
| | Amenemhet III (2061-2013 B.C.) | Ilumailu (2070- B.C.) Ilumailu takes Nippur (c. 2052 B.C.) Amor attacks Babylonia (2045 B.C.) Revolt of Akkad (2044 B.C.) | (Troy: Second City destroyed, see p. 614) |
| 2000 | <i>Twelfth Dynasty</i> ends Second 'Intermediate Period,' including <i>Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties</i> | Samsu-ditana (1956-1926 B.C.) Hittite raid on Akkad (1926 B.C.) End of <i>First Dynasty of Babylon</i> | Destruction of Palaces of Cnossus and Phaestus <i>Middle Minoan III</i> begins Cessation of direct intercourse of Crete with Egypt |
| 1900 | Hyksos invasion | | |
| 1800 | Introduction of the horse into Egypt | Kassites under Gandash conquer Baby- lonia (1746 B.C.) | |

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE: c. 2200—c. 1800 B.C. 659

| B.C. | Egypt | Babylonia, Assyria | Aegean, Cyprus, etc. |
|------|---|--|--|
| 1700 | | Beginning of KASSITE <i>Dynasty</i> (1746 B.C.) | |
| 1600 | War of liberation, led by Thebes, against the Hyksos The Hyksos expelled The NEW KINGDOM begins with the <i>Eighteenth Dynasty</i> Accession of Ahmose I (1580 B.C.) | End of the Sea-Country kings (1703 B.C.) Assyria overlord of the Semites of the Middle Euphrates (p. 468) | <i>Late Minoan I</i> begins (Late Helladic or Mycenaean I) |
| 1500 | Thutmose III (1501-1447 B.C.) Wars in Syria | Agum II (Kassite), 1561-1537 B.C. | Bronze Age (Second Period) in Cyprus <i>Late Minoan II</i> (Late Helladic II) |
| 1400 | Age of the Amarna Letters and Boghaz Keui tablets | | Destruction of Palaces of Chossus and Phaestus <i>Late Minoan III</i> begins (Late Helladic III) |
| 1300 | <i>Nineteenth Dynasty</i> (c. 1350 B.C.) Beginning of Third Sothic Cycle (1321 B.C.) | Shalmaneser I (1276-1257 B.C.) | |
| 1200 | <i>Twentieth Dynasty</i> | | Sixth City of Troy |

LIST OF EGYPTIAN KINGS

II

SELECT LIST OF EGYPTIAN KINGS OF THE OLD AND MIDDLE KINGDOMS, c. 3500—1580 B.C.¹

| Predynastic Kings of Lower Egypt | Predynastic Kings of Upper Egypt |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | |
| Tiu | |
| Thesh | |
| Hsekiu | |
| Uaznar | Ro |
| | |

FIRST DYNASTY: c. 3500—3350 (?) B.C.

| Historical | Traditional | Manetho |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 'Scorpion' } Narmerza } Aha Men } | Meni | Mēnēs |
| Zer (? Khent) Atoti | { Teti Atoti | Athōthis Ouenephēs |
| Za | Ata | Kenkenēs |
| Den (? Udimu) Semti | Hsapti | Ousaphais |
| Enezib Merpeba | Merbap | Miebis |
| Semerkhet Nekht | Shemsu | Semempsēs |
| Ka Sen | Kebh | Biēnekhēs |

SECOND DYNASTY: c. 3350—3190 (?) B.C.

| Historical | Traditional | Manetho |
|------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| Hotepsekhemui | Buzau | Boēthos |
| Reneb | Kakau | Kaiekhōs |
| Neneter | Banentiru | Binōthris |
| Sekhemib Perenmaat } Peribsen } | Uaznas | [O]tlas |
| Senedi | Senedi | Sethenēs Khairēs |
| | Neferkere | Nepherkherēs |
| | Neferkesokari | Sesōkhris |
| | Huzefa | Khenerēs |

¹ All the dates in this list must be regarded as provisional, and as followed by a query; see above, pp. 166–73, and Chaps. VII sq. It should be observed that they differ slightly from those of Breasted and the German School in the earlier dates assigned to the XIth–XIIIth Dynasties, and consequently to all that precede (pp. 169, 315). For fuller details see H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 17 sqq., 120, 126, 134 sq., 148.

LIST OF EGYPTIAN KINGS

THIRD DYNASTY: *c.* 3190–3100 (?) B.C.

| Historical | | Traditional | Manetho |
|----------------------------|--------|--------------|--|
| Khasekhem [Khasekhemui] | } Besh | Zazai [Bebi] | Necherōphes |
| Zoser | | Zoser | Tosorthros |
| Sanekht | | Nebka | { Tyreis Mesōchris Sōyphis |
| | | Zoserteti | Tosertasis |
| | | Sezes | Achēs |
| Neferka | | Neferkere | Kerpheres (<i>i.e.</i> Nephherkeres) |
| Snefru | | Snefru | S[n]ēphouris |

FOURTH DYNASTY: *c.* 3100–2965 (?) B.C.

| Historical | | Manetho | Herodotus and Diodorus |
|------------|-----------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Sharu (?) | 3100–3098 | Sōris | |
| Khufu | 3098–3075 | Souphis | Cheops |
| Rededef | 3075–3067 | Ratoises | |
| Khafre | 3067–3011 | Souphis | Chephrēn, Chabryes |
| Menkaure | 3011–2988 | Mencherēs (Bicheris) | Mykerinos |
| Shepseskaf | 2988–2970 | Sebercherēs | |
| — | 2970–2965 | Thamphthis | |

FIFTH DYNASTY: *c.* 2965–2825 (?) B.C.

| Historical | | Manetho |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Userkaf | 2965–2958 | Ousercherēs |
| Sahure | 2958–2946 | Sephrēs |
| Neferirikere Kakau | 2946–2936 | Nephhercherēs |
| Neferefre Shepseskere | 2936–2929 | Sisirēs |
| Khaneferre | 2929–2925 | Cherēs |
| Neuserre An | 2925–2891 | Rathourēs |
| Menkauhor | 2891–2883 | Mencherēs |
| Dedkere Isesi | 2883–2855 | Tancherēs |
| Unis | 2855–2825 | Onnos |

SIXTH DYNASTY: *c.* 2825–2631 (?) B.C.

| | | |
|----------------------|-------------|----------------|
| Teti | } 2825–2795 | Othoēs |
| Userkere Ati | | |
| Merire Pepi I | 2795–2742 | Phios |
| Merenre Mehtimsaf I | 2742–2738 | Methesouphis |
| Neferkere Pepi II | 2738–2644 | Phiōps |
| Merenre Mehtimsaf II | 2644–2643 | Menthessouphis |
| Neterkere | } 2643–2631 | Nitōkris |
| Menkere | | |

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH DYNASTIES (Traditional and Manethonian)

NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES (Herakleopolite): *c.* 2500–2300 (?) B.C.
(Chief Kings)

| Historical | Manetho |
|---------------------------|----------|
| Meriebre Ekhtai I (Khati) | Akhthoēs |
| Uohkere Ekhtai II | |
| Uazkere | |
| Merikere | |

ELEVENTH DYNASTY (Theban): *c.* 2375–2212 (?) B.C.

| | | |
|--|-----------|--|
| Iniotef-‘o (Intef-‘o) I (Hor Uah-ankh) | 2375 | |
| Iniotef (Intef) II (Hor Nakhtnebtetpnefer) | | |
| Mentuhotep I (Hor Sankhibtoui) | | |
| Nebtoui | | |
| Mentuhotep II | | |
| Nebkhrure | | |
| Nebhapetre | | |
| Sankhkere Mentuhotep IV | | |
| Mentuhotep III (Hor Neterhezet) | 2290–2242 | |
| Mentuhotep III (Hor Samtoui) | | |
| | 2242–2212 | |

TWELFTH DYNASTY (Theban): *c.* 2212–2000 (?) B.C.

| Monuments, etc. | | Manetho |
|-------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| Sehetepibre Amenemhet I | 2212–2182 | Ammenemēs |
| (Co-reg.) | | |
| Kheperkere Senusret I | 2192–2147 | Sesonkhōsis |
| (Co-reg.) | | |
| Nubkaure Amenemhet II | 2150–2115 | Ammenemēs |
| (Co-reg.) | | |
| Khakheperre Senusret II | 2115–2099 | Sesōstris |
| Khakaure Senusret III | 2099–2061 | Lakharēs |
| Nemaatre Amenemhet III | 2061–2013 | Ammerēs (Lamaris) |
| (Iuibre Hor; co-reg.?) | | |
| Maatkhrure Amenemhet IV | 2013–2004 | Ammenemēs |
| Sebeknefrure | 2004–2000 | Skemiophris |

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH DYNASTIES (Chief Kings)

| | |
|---|--|
| Khutouire Ugafa (Northern) <i>c.</i> 2000 (?) | |
| Sekhemkere Amenemhetsenbef | |
| Sankhibtoui Amenemhet-Intef-Amenemhet | |
| Sneferibre Senusret IV (Theban) | |
| Sekhemrekhutai Sebekhotep I | |
| Sekhemuazkaure Sebekemsaf I | |
| Sekhemresesheditai Sebekemsaf II | |
| Sekhemneferkhaure Upuautemsaf | |
| Smenkhkhere Mermeshau (Northern) | |
| Menuazre | |
| Sekhemresuaztai Sebekhotep II | |
| Mersekhemre Neferhotep | |
| Khaneferre Sebekhotep III | |
| Merneferre Ai I | |
| Khahetepre Sebekhotep IV | |
| Khaankhre Sebekhotep V | |
| Sekhemreherhimaat Intef-‘o III | |
| Sekhemreupmaat Intef-‘o IV | |
| Nubkheperre Intef V, <i>c.</i> 1750 (?) | |
| Nemaatenkhare Khenzer | |
| Nehesi | |

•664• EGYPTIAN KINGS, DYNASTIES XV—XVII

FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH DYNASTIES (Hyksos): c. 1800 (?)–1580 B.C.

| Monuments | | Manetho |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| • Semken | | |
| • 'Ant-hal | | |
| Sekhanre? = Yekebbaal | | |
| Meruserre Yekebhal | | Salitis |
| Maa-ab-re Pepi | | Bnōn |
| 'Opehtire Nubti (?), c. 1700 | } Probable identifications | { Apakhnas Apophis Jannas (Staan, Siaan) Assis (Aseth) |
| Nebkhepeshre Apopi I | | |
| Seuserenre Khian | | |
| Nekare II? = Uazed | | |
| 'O-user-Re Apopi II | | |
| 'O-seh-Re | | |
| 'Okenenre Apopi III | | |

SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY (Theban): c. 1635–1580 B.C.

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| Sekenenre I Tau-'o | 1635–1615 |
| Sekenenre II Tau-'o-'o | 1615–1605 |
| Sekenenre III Tau-'o-ken | 1605–1591 |
| Uazkheperre Kamose | 1591–1581 |
| Senekhtenre | 1581–1580 |

III

LIST OF KINGS AND PATESIS OF SUMER AND AKKAD¹

| Dynasty | Date approximate B.C. | Years (according to the lists) | Contemporary patesis of | |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| | | | Lagash | Kish, etc. |
| (1) First dynasty of Kish ² (about 5 names missing) | c. 5500 (?) | | | |
| ...-bu-um | | | | |
| ...tab-ba | | 780+ | | |
| Galumum | | 900 | | |
| Zukakipu (Scorpion) | | 840 | | |
| Arpu | | 720 | | |
| Etana | | 635 | | |
| Balikh, Walikh, son | | 410 | | |
| Enmenunna, son | | 611 | | |
| Melam-Kish, son | | 900 | | |
| Barsalnunna, son | | 1200 | | |
| Meszagud, son | | | | |
| ..., son | | | | |
| | | | | |
| About 5 names missing | | | | |
| Total about 21 kings | | | | |

RULERS OF SUMER AND AKKAD

¹ See Langdon, 'The Early Chronology of Sumer and Egypt,' *J.E.A.*, vii (1921), pp. 133-53.

² The 1st Dynasty of Kish and the 1st Dynasty of Erech are based upon Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, No. 2, Obv., Cols. i, ii and No. 3, Cols. i, ii. The list on No. 2 was continued into Col. iii, but is broken away at the point where the 1st Dynasty of Ur begins. The names of the 1st Dynasty of Kish are partially preserved on Poebel, No. 5, Obv. i.

| Dynasty | Date approximate B.C. | Years (according to the lists) | Contemporary patesis of | |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| | | | Lagash | Kish, etc. |
| (2) First dynasty of Erech (Sumerian) | c. 5000 (?) | | | |
| Meskingasher | | 325 | | |
| Emmerkar, son | | 420 | | |
| Lugalbanda | | 1200 | | |
| Tammuz | | 100 | | |
| Gilgamesh | | 126 | | |
| -lugal, son | | | | |
| About 2 names missing | | | | |
| Total about 8 kings | | | | |
| (3) First dynasty of Ur ¹ (Sumerian) | c. 4216 | | | |
| Mesannipadda | | 80 | | |
| Meskenagnunna | | 30 | | |
| Elulu | | 25 | | |
| Balulu | | 36 | | |
| Total 4 kings | | Total 171 | | |
| (4) Dynasty of Awan ² (Sumerian) (?) | c. 4045 | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| Total 3 kings | | Total 356 (?) | | |

¹ The 1st Dynasty of Ur is based upon Poebel, *ibid.*, No. 2, Obv. III, and the Legrain tablet, Obv. I (*Museum Journal*, Philadelphia, 1920, XI, 175-80; see *J.E.A.*, VII, 142, n. 5).

² The names of the Awan dynasty have been given by Poebel, No. 2, Obv. III, 19-197, but only the name *A-wa-an* remains. The number of names in this dynasty is obtained from the summary on Poebel, No. 2, Rev. XI, 16-20. The number 356 given in the summary is reduced to 100 in the above scheme.

| | | | |
|---|---------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (5) Second dynasty of Ur ¹ (Sumerian) | c. 3945 | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| Total 4 (?) | | Total 108 (?) | |
| (6) Second dynasty of Kish ² (Semitic) | c. 3837 | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| Total 5 kings (?) | | Total 3792 (sic) read 192 (?) | |
| (7) Dynasty of Khamazi ³ (Sumerian) | c. 3645 | | |
| ...ni-ish | | 7 | |
| Total 1 | | Total 7 | Utug... (patesi of Kish) |
| (8) Third dynasty of Kish ⁴ (Semitic) | c. 3638 | | Ninkisalsi (Adab) |
| Mesilim | | | Lugalshagengur |
| Urzaged | | | |
| Lugal-tarsi | | | |
| Lugal... aga | | | |
| | | | |
| Enbi-Ashdar | | | Ur-Enlil (Nippur) |
| Total 6 | | Total 150 (?) | |

RULERS: c. 5000 (?)—c. 3488 B.C.

¹ The length of this dynasty is ascertained from the summary in Poebel, No. 2, Rev. XI, 11-15, where the total of the three Ur dynasties is given as 396 years. The Ist and IIIrd Ur Dynasties are given as 171 + 117 years, leaving 108 for the IIrd Dynasty. The total number of kings appears to be either 13 or 14, and the number in the Ist and IIIrd Dynasties is 4 + 5, leaving 4 or 5 names for the IIrd Dynasty.

² The only information concerning this dynasty is preserved on the Lagrain tablet, Obv. II, where the total number of kings is either 5 or 6, more likely 6 in the photograph. The length of the dynasty is there given as 3792. (The number 3600 is written in Sumerian with a single sign.)

³ Based upon the Lagrain tablet, Obv. II, and Poebel, No. 2, Rev. Col. XI end.

⁴ The dynastic lists contain no information concerning the IIIrd Dynasty of Kish, and the IIrd Dynasty of Erech. The number of kings in each is approximately determined by subtracting the known dynasties from the summaries at the end of Poebel, No. 2. The names are supplied from the inscriptions, and the order is based upon later references to Enbi-Ashdar and Enshagkushanna.

| Dynasty | Date approximate B.C. | Years (according to the lists) | Contemporary patesis of | |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| | | | Lagash | Umma |
| (9) Second dynasty of Erech (Sumerian) Enshagkushanna Lugal-kigub-nidudu Lugal-kisalsi Total 4 | c. 3488 | Total 130 (?) | | |
| (10) Dynasty of Adab ¹ Lugal-animundu (Lugal-dalu) (Mebasi) Total 3 | c. 3358 | 90 Total 90 | | |
| (11) Dynasty of Maer ¹ (Sumerian) An-Bu ...gi, son-Babbar Total 4 kings | c. 3268 | 30 80 | | |
| (12) Akshak (Opis) ² (Semitic) Unzi | c. 3188 | 30 | Shuruppak magistrates: Enkhegal (king at Lagash) | |
| Undalulu | | 12 | | |
| Urur | | 6 | | Patesis of Umma |
| Gimil-Shakhan | | 20 | | Eabzu |
| Ishu-el | | 24 | Ur-Nina (king), c. 3100 | |
| Gimil-Sin | | 7 | | |
| Total 6 kings | | Total 99 | | |

¹ Based upon the Legrain tablet, Obv. III.

² Here begins the Scheil dynastic tablet whose obverse contains a complete list of the kings of Akshak, the IVth Dynasty of Kish, and the IIIrd Dynasty of Erech. The summary at the end of the Akshak dynasty is preserved on the Legrain tablet, Obv. IV.

| | | | | |
|--|---------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| (13) Fourth dynasty of Kish ¹ (Semitic) | c. 3089 | | Akurgal, c. 3050, son | Ush |
| | | | Eannatum, son | Enakallī |
| | | | Enannatum I, brother | Urlumma |
| | | | | Ilī |
| Azag-Bau (queen and queen-regent for — (?) years) | | 26 (?) | Entemena, son | |
| Gimil-Sin, son | | 25 | | |
| Ur-Ilbaba, son | | 80 | Enannatum II, son | Ukush |
| Zimudar | | 30 | Enetarzi | |
| Uziwadar, son | | 6 | Enlitarzi, 5 years | |
| Elmuti | | 11 | Lugalanda, 9, son | |
| Imu-Shamash | | 11 | Urukagina (king), 6 | Lugal-zaggisi, son |
| Nanija | | 3 | | |
| Total 8 kings | | Total 192 (?) | | |
| (14) Third dynasty of Erech (Sumerian) | c. 2897 | | | |
| Lugal-zaggisi | | 25 | | |
| (15) Dynasty of Agade ² (Semitic) | c. 2872 | | | |
| Sargon | | 55 | | |
| Rimush, son | | 15 | Engilsa | |
| Manishtusu, son | | 7 | Ur-E | Surushkin |
| Narām-Sin | | 56 | Lugal-ushungal | Lu-Shara |
| Sharkalishari, son | | 25 | Ugme | |
| 'Who was king, who was not king?' | | | Urmama | |
| Igigi | | | | |
| Imi | | 3 | Gimil-mama | |
| Nani | | | | |
| Elulu | | | | |
| Dudu | | 21 | Ka-azag | |
| Gimil-Dur-Ul | | 15 | Ur-Bau, c. 2700 | |
| Total 12 kings | | Total 197 | | |

RULERS: c. 2800—c. 2675 B.C.

¹ This list is partially preserved on the Legrain tablet, Obv. iv.

² The Agade dynasty is completely preserved on the Legrain tablet, Rev. i, as now restored; the Scheil tablet, Obv. 23—Rev. 9; and Poebel, No. 3, Rev. viii.

| Dynasty | Date approximate B.C. | Years (according to the lists) | Contemporary patesis of | |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| | | | Lagash | Umma |
| (16) Fourth dynasty of Erech ¹ (Sumerian) | c. 2675 | | | |
| Urnigin | | 3 | Urgar | |
| Urgir, son | | 6 | Nammakhni | |
| Kudda | | 6 | Ur-Ninsun | |
| Migir-ili | | 5 | | |
| Ur-Babbar | | 6 | Ur-Babbar (?) | |
| Total 5 kings | | Total 26 | | |
| (17) Dynasty of Gutium ² (Hittite ?) | c. 2649 | | | |
| Imbia | | 5 | | |
| Ingishu | | 7 | | |
| Warlagaba | | 6 | | |
| Iarlagash | | 3 (?) | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| ...da | | | | |
| ...ti | | | | |
| ...an-gab | | | | |
| Si-um | | | | Lugalannatum |
| (a) Lasirab | | | | |
| (b) Erridupizir | | | Gudea (2600) | |
| (c) Arlagan | | | | Nammakhni |
| (d) Saratigubisin (?) | | | Ur-Ningirsu | Galu-Babbar |
| | | | | |
| Tinkān | | | | |
| Total 21 kings | | Total 125 | | |

¹ Based upon the Scheil tablet, Rev. 10-16, and Poebel, No. 4, Obv. 1.

² This list is partially restored by the Legrain tablet, Rev. 11, and Poebel, No. 4.

| | | | |
|--|---------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (18) Fifth dynasty of Erech (Sumerian) | c. 2524 | | |
| Utukhegal | | | |
| (Space on Legrain tablet for about two names) | | | |
| Total 3 kings | | Total 50 (?) | |
| | | (see pp. 434, 441 sq.) | |
| (19) Third dynasty of Ur ¹ (Sumerian) | c. 2474 | | |
| Ur-Engur | | 18 | Urabba |
| Dungi, son | | 58 | |
| | | | { Lukazal |
| Bur-Sin, son | | 9 | { Ur-lama |
| | | | { Alla |
| | | | { Ur-lama (reappointed) |
| Gimil-Sin, son | | 8 | |
| Ibi-Sin, son | | 25 | |
| Total 5 kings | | Total 117 | (2357) |

¹ Based upon Poebel, No. 4, Rev. 1-5.

RULERS: c. 2675—c. 2357 B.C.

IV

KINGS OF ISIN, LARSA, BABYLON, ETC.¹

| Isin | Larsa | Babylonia | Assyria | Elam | Kish, etc. |
|--|-------------------|-----------|---|--|-----------------------|
| Ishbi-Girra (2357) | Naplanu(m) (2357) | | c. 2500 Ushpia, Kikia c. 2400 Zariku | Kutur-nakhhunte (? c. 2357) Lila-irtash, pre- sumed son | |
| Gimil-ilishu, son (2325) | Emišu(m) (2336) | | | | |
| Idin-Dagan, son (2315) | | | | | |
| Ishme-Dagan, son (2294) | Samu(m) (2308) | | | | |
| Lipit-Ishtar, son or brother (2274) | | | | | |
| | Zabaia (2273) | | Enlil-kapkapu | | |
| | Gungunu(m) (2264) | | | | |
| Ur-Ninurta (2263) | | | Puzur-Ashir I | | KISH. Ashduni-erim |
| | Abi-sari (2237) | | Shalim-akhu(m), son | | (c. 2250) |

ISIN, LARSA, BABYLON, ETC.

¹ The dates are approximate merely. They depend primarily upon the approximate dates of Shalmaneser and other Assyrian kings of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, upon their references to earlier kings, and upon references to kings as contemporaneous. In other cases, and where no dates are suggested, the position of kings (e.g. of Assyria) is conjectural. See further above, pp. 152-6, and Chaps. XIII and XV. Ungler's date for the first year of Ammi-zaduga (viz. 1977)—based on Babylonian observations of Venus—is here accepted; but Weidner *M.D.O.G.* 1915 and 1921 makes it 1809, and this discrepancy affects all the early dates.

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|--|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| C.A.H. I | Bur-Sin, son (2235) | Sumu-ilu(m) (2226) | FIRST BABYLONIAN DYNASTY (2225-). | | | |
| | | | Sumu-abu(m) (2225) | Ilu-shuma | Silkhakha (Simiti- Shilkhal) | |
| | Iter-pī-sha, son (2214) | | Sumu-la-ilu(m) (2211) | Irishu(m) I, son | | |
| | Girra-imiti, brother (2209) | | | Ikunu(m), son | | Manana (c. 2212) |
| | Enlil-... (2202) Enlil-bani (2201) | | | Sharru-kin I, son (c. 2200) | | Sumu-ditana Yapium (c. 2206) ? Khalium |
| | | Nur-Adad (2197) | | | | KAZALLU. Yakhzir-ilu (2194- 2187) |
| | | Sin-idinna(m), son (2181) | | Puzur-Ashir II | | |
| | Zambia (2177) ? (2174) ? Ur-azag (2169) | Sin-iribu(m) (2175) | Zab(?)u(m), son (2175) | | | |
| | | Sin-ikisha(m) (2173) Silli-Adad (2168) Warad-Sin (2167), son of Kutur- Mabuk | | | Kutur-Mabuk (c. 2167) | ERECH. Siniriba(m) (con- temp. Warad-Sin) |
| | Sin-magir (2165) | | | Akhi-Ashir | | |
| 43 | | Abil-Sin, son (2161) | | Rim-Sin (of Larsa) | | |
| | | Rim-Sin I, brother (2155) | | | | |

KINGS: c. 2357—c. 2155 B.C.

| Isin | Larsa | Babylonia | Assyria | Elam | Ereh |
|---|-------------------------------|---|---|--------------|------------------------------------|
| Damik-ilishu, son (2154-2125) | | Sin-muballit, son (2143) | Irishu(m) II | | Warad-nene (con- temp. Rim-Sin) |
| | | Hammurabi, son (2123) | Shamshi-Adad I (living c. 2113?) Ishme-Dagan I, son | | |
| | | Samsu-iluna, son (2080) | | | |
| FIRST DYNASTY OF THE SEA-COUNTRY (c. 2070-1703). Iluma-ilu (c. 2070) | Rim-Sin II (2071) (p. 556) | | | | |
| | ? Iluma-ilu | | ...-ashshat | | |
| | | Abeshu', son (2042) Ammi-ditana, son (2014) | | | |
| Itti-ili-nibi (2010) | | Ammi-zaduga, son (1977) | Rimush | Sadi or Taki | |
| ³ Damki-ilishu (1955) | | Samsu-ditana, son (1956-1926) | | | Anam Sin-gashid Sin-gamil |

| | | | |
|---|--|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Ishkibal (1919) | | Adasi | (?) Arad-shagshag |
| Shushshi (1904) | | Enlil-bani, son | |
| Gulkishar (1877) ¹ | | Shabai | |
| Peshgal-daramash, son of Gulkishar (1822) | | Shar-ma-Adad I | |
| A-dara-kalama, son (1772) | | Gizil-Sin | |
| | | Zimzai | |
| | | Lulla | |
| | KASSITE DYNASTY (c. 1746-1169). Gandash (1746) | | |
| Akur (Ekur)-ul-ana (1744) | | Shi-Ninua | |
| | Agum I, son (1730) | Shar-ma-Adad II | |
| Melam-kurkura (1718) | | Irishum III | |
| | | Shamshi-Adad II (1716) | |
| Ea-gamil (1711- 1703) | Kashtiliash I (1708) | | |
| | Ushshi (1686) | Ishme-Dagan II, son (1686) | |
| | Abirattash (1678?) | Shamshi-Adad III, son (1661) | |
| | Kashtiliash II |(1636) | |
| | Tazzi-gurumash (1636) | | |
| | Kharba-Shipak (1611) | Puzur-Ashir III (1611) | |
| |(1586) | Enlil-nasir (1586) | |
| | Agum II (1561- 1537) | Nur-ili (1561- 1537) | |

¹ According to new Ashur texts another king ...ri-en is to be inserted here.